FOLLOW US:
thehindu.com
facebook.com/thehindu
twitter.com/the_hindu
instagram.com/the_hindu

# The Hindu.

BENGALURU
CITY EDITION
Vol.53 • No.193
40 pages • ₹6.00

MONDAY, AUGUST 15, 2022

PRINTED AT · CHENNAI · COIMBATORE · BENGALURU · HYDERABAD · MADURAI · NOIDA · VISAKHAPATNAM · THIRUVANANTHAPURAM · KOCHI · VIJAYAWADA · MANGALURU · TIRUCHIRAPALLI · KOLKATA · HUBBALLI · MOHALI · MALAPPURAM · MUMBAI · TIRUPATI · LUCKNOW · CUTTACK · PATNA

### NOTICE

**Our Office will be closed on Friday, August 15, on account of INDEPENDENCE DAY. Consequently, there will be no issue of THE HINDU bearing the date Saturday, August 16, 1947.**

**MANAGER,**
**"The Hindu".**

### CALENDAR FOR AUGUST

| | | SUN Rise | SUN Set | MOON Rise | MOON Set |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Friday | 15 | 5 57 | 18 30 | 4 38 | 17 40 |
| Saturday | 16 | 5 57 | 18 29 | 5 34 | 18 41 |
| Sunday | 17 | 5 57 | 18 28 | 6 27 | 19 31 |
| Monday | 18 | 5 57 | 18 27 | 7 22 | 20 16 |
| Tuesday | 19 | 5 57 | 18 26 | 8 22 | 20 53 |
| Wednesday | 20 | 5 57 | 18 26 | 9 25 | 21 23 |
| Thursday | 21 | 5 57 | 18 25 | 10 28 | 21 50 |

PHASES OF THE MOON

Friday August 19 Perigee 13 39
Saturday August 20 New Moon 16 42

### WEATHER IN SOUTH INDIA

MADRAS, Aug. 14.

Regional daily weather report for Madras Presidency, Mysore and Madras States:

Rainfall was widespread in South Kerala. Fairly widespread thunder-showers occurred in North Kerala, South Kanara, Mysore and Tamilnad, while isolated showers have occurred in Andhradesa.

The chief amounts of rainfall are: Cochin 8.1" and Alleppey 1.2".

Forecast valid until the evening of August 15: Widespread rain will continue along and near the West Coast. Fairly widespread thunder-showers will also occur in Mysore and Tamilnad with isolated showers in the rest of the region.

Monsoon rainfall forecast for August-September 1947. Forecasting factors indicate that there is a 4 to 1 chance that monsoon rainfall during August and September '47 will be above 95 per cent of the average in the peninsula comprising Gujarat, Konkan, Bombay Deccan, Central Provinces, Hyderabad and above 112 per cent of average in North-West India comprising United Provinces, Punjab, North-West Frontier Provinces and Rajputana.

Local forecast: Mainly fair.

Weather news for farmers: Light showers in Trichy.

Outlook for the next three days: Thunder-showers will continue in the eastern half of the region.

METTUR WATER LEVEL

83.1 feet on August 13.

THE HINDU

FRIDAY, AUGUST 15, 1947.

### A RED-LETTER DAY

BY the grace of Providence India enters the comity of free nations to-day, an equal among equals. It is an occasion for rejoicing not only for her people but for all who value human freedom as an end in itself. So long as this country with her hoary civilisation and many-sided culture, her wealth of resources and matchless opulence of spirit remained in political bondage, that very fact constituted an implicit denial of those values to which the dominant nations of the West were wont to pay lip service. That India has at long last achieved her independence by agreement with Great Britain is a fact for which the sagacity and statesmanship of Britain is entitled to the fullest credit. Other imperial Powers are bound to follow in her footsteps sooner or later; for the heart has gone out of Imperialism. The harrowing experience of two wars within a single generation is to a large extent responsible for this awakening among the ruling Powers. But the way in which the people of India have conducted their struggle for emancipation has not been without its influence in bringing about a change in the world outlook. The outstanding marvel of this century is the faith inspired in millions of people that truth may prevail, unbacked though it be by the big battalions, that you may win over your adversary by putting him on his honour, relying on his good faith and appealing to his reason. By imbuing his countrymen with this faith and sustaining it through the long night of darkness and despair Mahatma Gandhi has not only won for himself a secure place in our affections; he has placed all humanity in his debt. To him and to the countless men and women who sacrificed themselves cheerfully that others might live to breathe the ampler air of freedom, our hearts turn to-day in reverent homage.

We have achieved freedom; but at what cost! A country and a people that by every test are a unity have been arbitrarily divided. And the wound will take long to heal; for, as Mr. Nehru has sadly remarked, "division has taken place in the hearts of the people of India". But it is idle to brood over what has happened and foolish to get angry and cast about for scapegoats. Many think that there is bound to be a reunion when there has been time enough for people to reflect coolly on the disastrous consequences of this unnatural partition. That is as it may be. But those who are perpetually harping on it, whether from genuine distress or in a fractious spirit, will not be hastening that consummation. It can only act as an irritant. The temptation for the protagonists of a united India and of Pakistan to talk at each other from a distance should be set aside. And both sides should concentrate on the thousand and one practical tasks that will have to be tackled in a spirit of mutual accommodation if life is not to be unnecessarily hard for large masses of men. The responsible leaders have shown a praiseworthy desire to conciliate the minorities and to reassure them. But so long as Lahore, Calcutta, and other big cities remain in the grip of madmen drunk with blood and the civil power stands helpless in the face of organised murder and loot, it is idle to expect the minority communities to be satisfied with verbal assurances however ample. From to-day the responsibility for ending this disgraceful state of affairs is solely ours. Neither the Government of India nor that of Pakistan must overlook the fact that our new-won freedom is itself gravely menaced by this chronic lawlessness. Every effort should, of course, be made to rally the vast majority of peaceable citizens in support of law and order. But the long arm of the law should be not less ready to collar and swift to punish the malefactors however deeply they might be entrenched.

We have won freedom. And the first thing our people must learn is that it is no picnic. They will have to gird their loins and work as they have never worked before. Any number of paper plans will not usher in the millennium if we go on interminably arguing their relative merits. The consensus of instructed opinion in the country is that our urgent need is to increase production. Dr. John Matthai, in stressing the other day the fact that the redressing of the present gross inequality in distribution is no less essential, was no doubt applying a healthy corrective. But, while admitting this, we would point out that there is some risk in envisaging the pursuit of economic equality in terms of a struggle. Dr. Matthai argued that like all national movements for freedom ours too, has had to lean heavily on vested interests and the latter have taken the fullest advantage of this; and that a determined effort should now be made to shake off this strangle-hold and this could be done, and the energy released by the achievement of freedom could be best utilised by casting vested interests for the role of enemy as we cast British Imperialism for that role till the other day. Dr. Matthai was, we are sure, merely using picturesque language to emphasise his point. But there is a danger in simplifying these things, especially with a people who are still novices in the art of political democracy. We have to deal, not with lifeless things that stay put, but with a dynamic situation which changes under our very eyes. Those who led the fight for freedom yesterday may themselves come to be regarded as vested interests by their self-styled successors of to-day who claim to lead the struggle for economic equality. In fact, the epidemic of strikes that has broken out in many key-industries and that is further impoverishing an economy that is already dangerously on the verge of collapse, is often sought to be justified on the ground that the bourgeois leaders are in league with the capitalists. If these ideological recriminations are given their head, we must bid farewell to all hopes of a united drive for maximising production and for opening up new and fruitful fields of economic activity.

Having pinned our faith to the method of peaceful persuasion in our struggle for emancipation it would ill become us to look upon the coercive exercise of the State power as the inevitable instrument for building up a strong and well-knit nation. Among us, as in other parts of the world, there are bound to be wide differences of opinion as to the objectives of State policy. All rational men aim at the good life as the goal of the State; but, though there is general agreement in regard to the material conditions which the term implies, there are considerable differences of opinion over the spiritual values which are no less essential to the good life, such imponderables, among others, as freedom of thought itself. Far from regarding it as necessary in the interests of the public welfare to steam-roller opinion at the behest of a dominant clique, our age-long tradition, to which totalitarian tyranny is profoundly repugnant, has always favoured the allowing of the maximum liberty to people to live their own lives without denying others their due. If we are to be true to our own best impulses we should depend on education rather than legislation, on the catalytic action of creative thought and not on mass agitation and crude propaganda, to bring about those changes which may be necessary to eliminate poverty, wretchedness and strife and to enable every citizen of free India to attain to fullness of life and that inner freedom which the Vedic seers termed *Swaraajya*.

### INDIAN AUXILIARY FORCES DISBANDED

NEW DELHI, Aug. 14.

The Government of India, it is learnt, have issued orders disbanding all units of the Indian Auxiliary Forces from August 14.

# FREE INDIA IS BORN

## UNION CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ASSUMES POWER

## MEMBERS TAKE PLEDGE OF SERVICE TO COUNTRY

## RAJEN BABU'S ASSURANCE TO MINORITIES

**The new Dominion of India was born on the stroke of mid-night on Thursday when the Constituent Assembly, at its historic session, assumed power for the governance of the country and signified its approval of the choice of Lord Louis Mountbatten as the first Governor-General of the Dominion.**

**Earlier, addressing a hushed House, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President, paid a tribute to the memory of those who had sacrificed themselves for the attainment of independence. "Let us also pay our tribute of love and reverence to Mahatma Gandhi who has been our beacon-light, our guide and philosopher during the last 30 years or more," Dr. Rajendra Prasad added.**

**Dr. Rajendra Prasad assured the minorities in India that they would receive fair and just treatment. "They will enjoy all the rights and privileges of citizenship," he said, "and will be expected, in their turn, to render loyalty to the country in which they live and to its constitution."**

**"We are embarking on a great task and we shall do our best to serve it," Dr. Rajendra Prasad concluded.**

**Moving a resolution that members of the Assembly do dedicate themselves to the service of India and her people, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in an inspiring address, declared: "The service of India means the service of the millions that suffer. The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to wipe every tear from every eye. That may be beyond us. But so long as there are tears and suffering, so long our work will not be over."**

**The resolution was passed unanimously and members took the pledge at the stroke of twelve. After accepting the National Flag presented by Mrs. Hansa Mehta on behalf of the women of India, the Assembly adjourned to meet again on Friday morning.**

### MEMBERS TAKE OATH

NEW DELHI, August 15.

The Constituent Assembly held an hour-and-quarter session last night at which it passed Pandit Nehru's resolution prescribing the oath. All the members took the oath as prescribed in the resolution after which Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Pandit Nehru left for the Government House.

Over 50,000 people loudly cheered Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as, along with Dr. Rajendra Prasad, he left the Council Hall for the Government House.

As the clock chimed 12, conches blew and thunderous applause and cries of "Mahatma Gandhi-ki-Jai" greeted the birth of freedom. Many members in the House were visibly moved.

Pandit Nehru's resolution, which was seconded by Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman, Leader of the Muslim League Party, and supported by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, was carried unanimously amid great acclamation.

### ASSURANCE TO MINORITIES

An assurance to the minorities in India that they would receive fair and just treatment and that there would be no discrimination in any form against them, was given by the President of the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, addressing the historic session of the House to-night on the assumption of power.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, addressing a hushed house, expressed grateful thanks to the Almighty and recalled in grateful remembrance the services of all those, known and unknown, who had sacrificed themselves for the attainment of independence.

"Let us also pay our tribute of love and reverence to Mahatma Gandhi who has been our beacon-light, our guide and philosopher during the last 30 years or more," he said.

The following is the text of Dr. Rajendra Prasad's speech:

"In this solemn hour of our history, when after many years of struggle we are taking over the governance of this country, let us offer our humble thanks to the Almighty Power that shapes the destinies of men and nations and let us recall in grateful remembrance the services and sacrifices of all those men and women, known and unknown, who, with smiles on their faces, walked to the gallows or faced bullets on their chests, who experienced living death in the Andamans or spent long years in the prisons of India, who preferred voluntary exile in foreign countries to a life of humiliation in their own, who not only lost wealth and property, but cut themselves off from their near and dear ones to devote themselves to the achievement of the great objective which we are witnessing to-day.

**TRIBUTE TO GANDHIJI**

"Let us also pay tribute of love and reverence to Mahatma Gandhi who has been our beacon-light, our guide and philosopher during the last 30 years or more. He represents that undying spirit in our culture and make-up which has kept India alive through vicissitudes of our history. He it is who pulled us out of the Slough of Despond and despair and blowed into us a spirit which enabled us to stand up for justice, to claim our birth-right of freedom and placed in our hands the matchless and unfailing weapon of Truth and Non-violence which, without arms and armaments, has won for us the invaluable prize of Swaraj at a price which, when the history of these times comes to be written, will be regarded as incredible for a vast country of our size and for the teeming millions of our population. We were indifferent instruments that he had to work with. He led us with consummate skill, with unwavering determination, with an undying faith in our future, with faith in his weapon and, above all, with faith in God. Let us prove true to that faith. Let us hope that India will not, in the hour of her triumph, give up or minimise the value of the weapon which served not only to rouse and inspire her in her moments of depression, but has alone proved its efficacy. India has a great part to play in the shaping and moulding of the future of a war-distracted world. She can play that part, not by mimicking from a distance what others are doing or by joining in the race for armaments and competing with others in the discovery of the latest and most effective instruments of destruction. She has now the opportunity and, let us hope, she will have the courage and strength to place before the world for its acceptance her infallible substitute for war and bloodshed, death and destruction. The world needs it and will welcome it, unless it is prepared to reel back into barbarism from which it boasts to have emerged.

"Let us then assure all countries of the world that we propose to stick to our historic tradition to be on terms of friendship and amity with all, that we have no designs against anyone and hope that none will have any against us. We have only one ambition and desire, and that is to make our contribution to the building up of freedom for all and peace among mankind.

**GREETINGS TO PAKISTAN**

"The country which was made by God and Nature to be one, stands divided today. Separation from near and dear ones, even from strangers after some association, is always painful. I would be untrue to myself if I did not at this moment confess to a sense of sorrow at this separation. But I wish to send on your behalf and my own our greetings and good wishes for success and the best of luck in the high endeavour of Government in which the people of Pakistan, which till to-day has been a part and parcel of ourselves, are engaged.

"To those who feel like us but are on the other side of the border, we send a word of cheer. They should not give way to panic but should stick to their hearths and homes, their religion and culture and cultivate the qualities of courage and forbearance. They have no reason to fear that they will not get protection and just and fair treatment and they should not become victims of doubt and suspicion. They must accept the assurances publicly given and win their rightful place in the polity of the State where they are placed by their loyalty to it.

**GREAT TASK BEFORE NATION**

"To all the minorities in India, we give the assurance that they will receive fair and just treatment and there will be no discrimination in any form against them. Their religion, their culture and their language are safe and they will enjoy all the rights and privileges of citizenship, and will be expected, in their turn, to render loyalty to the country in which they live and to its constitution. To all, we give the assurance that it will be our endeavour to end poverty and squalor and its companions hunger and disease, to abolish distinctions and exploitation and to ensure decent conditions of living.

"We are embarking on a great task. We hope that in this we shall have the unstinted service and co-operation of all our people and the sympathy and support of all the communities. We shall do our best to serve it.

### DEDICATION TO INDIA'S SERVICE

"Long years ago, we made a tryst with destiny and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially", declared India's first Premier, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, moving the resolution prescribing an Oath for the members in the Constituent Assembly to-night.

The pledge as moved in the House to-night has some slight verbal variations from the one circulated earlier this week.

"At the stroke of midnight hour", Pandit Nehru said, "when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. (cheers). The moment comes, it comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance. It is fitting that at this solemn moment we take the pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity."

Pandit Nehru continued: "At the dawn of history, India started on her unending quest and trackless centuries are filled with her strivings and the grandeur of her successes and her failures. Through good and ill fortune alike, she has never lost sight of that quest or forgotten the ideals which gave her strength. And we end to-day a period of ill-fortune and India discovers herself again. The achievement we celebrate to-day is but a step, an opening of opportunity, to the greater triumphs and achievements that await us. Are we brave enough and wise enough to grasp this opportunity and accept the challenge of the future?"

**RESPONSIBILITIES OF FREEDOM**

"Freedom and power bring responsibility. That responsibility rests upon the Assembly, a sovereign body representing the sovereign people of India. Before the birth of freedom, we have endured all the pains of labour and our hearts are heavy with the memory of this sorrow. Some of these pains continue even now. Nevertheless, the past is over and it is the future that beckons to us now.

"That future is not one of ease or resting, but of incessant striving so that we might fulfil the pledges we have so often taken and the one we shall take to-day. The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer. It means the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity. The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to wipe every tear from every eye. That may be beyond us, but so long as there are tears and suffering, so long our work will not be over. And so we have to labour and to work and work hard to give reality to our dreams. Those dreams are for India, but they are also for the world, for all the nations and peoples are too closely knit together to-day for any one of them to imagine that it can live apart. Peace has been said to be indivisible, so is freedom, so is prosperity now, and so also is disaster in this one world that can no longer be split into isolated fragments.

**"NO TIME FOR ILL-WILL"**

"To the people of India, whose representatives we are, we make appeal to join us with faith and confidence in this great adventure. This is no time for petty and destructive criticism, no time for ill-will or blaming others. We have to build the noble mansion of free India where all her children may dwell.

"I beg to move, Sir, that it be resolved that: (1) After the last stroke of midnight, all members of the Constituent Assembly, present on this occasion, do take the following pledge: 'At this solemn moment when the people of India, through suffering and sacrifice, have secured freedom, I....., a member of the Constituent Assembly of India, do dedicate myself in all humility to the service of India and her people to the end that this ancient land attain her rightful place in the world and make her full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind.' (2) Members who are not present on this occasion do take the pledge with such verbal changes as the President may prescribe at the time they next attend a session of the Assembly."

Chaudary Khaliquzzaman, Leader of the Muslim League Party seconded the resolution.

### "A MILESTONE IN OUR MARCH"

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, supporting the resolution, said, "It is not necessary for me to speak at any great length on this resolution so impressively moved by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and seconded by Chaudhuri Khaliquzzaman. History and legend will grow around this day. It marks a milestone in our democracy's march. A significant date it is in the drama of the Indian people who are trying to rebuild and transform themselves. After a long night of watching and vigilance, a night full of fateful portents and silent prayers for the dawn of freedom, during which our sentinels kept watch, at last the dawn is breaking and we greet it with utmost enthusiasm.

"When we are passing from the state of serfdom, a state of slavery and subjection, to freedom, it is an occasion which is as happy as it is unique in that it is being affected in such an orderly and dignified way. Mr. Attlee spoke with visible pride in the House of Commons when he said that this is the first great instance of a strong imperialist power transferring its authority to the subject people whom it ruled with force and firmness for nearly two centuries. He went for a parallel to the British withdrawal from South Africa. But all these are nothing in scale comparable with the British withdrawal from this country. When we see what the Dutch are doing in Indonesia, when we see how the French are clinging to their possessions, we cannot but admire the political sagacity and courage of the British people. (Cheers). We on our side have also added a chapter to the history of the world. Look at the way in which a subject people in history won their freedom, how men had acquired power. Washington, Napoleon, Cromwell, Hitler and Mussolini. Look at the methods of blood and steel, terrorism and assassination, bloodshed and anarchy, by which these so-called great of the world acquired power. Here in this land under the leadership of one who will go down in history as perhaps the greatest man of our age (Cheers), have opposed with patience, fury and bureaucratic tyranny and with what result, that the transition is being effected with the least bitterness, with utterly no kind of hatred. The very fact that we are appointing Lord Mountbatten as the Governor-General of India, shows the spirit of understanding and friendliness in which this whole transition is being effected. (Cheers).

You, Mr. President, referred to the sadness in our hearts, to the sorrow which also clouds our rejoicings. May I say that we are in an essential sense responsible for it also, though not entirely. From 1600, Englishmen have come to this country—priests and nuns, merchants and adventurers, diplomats and statesmen, missionaries and idealists. The great among them wished to modernise this country. They

(Continued on page 8)

### INTERNATIONAL RIGHTS

### INDIAN DOMINION'S STATUS

**ORDER-IN-COUNCIL ISSUED**

NEW DELHI, August. 14.

The Dominion of India will be solely entitled to all the international rights to which India was entitled. Moreover the Dominion of India will continue to be a member of international organisations of which India was a member and the Dominion of Pakistan will take such steps as may be necessary to apply for membership of international organisations.

This is the substance of the Indian Independence (International Arrangements) Order, issued by the Viceroy to-day.

The order is to have the force of an agreement between the two Dominions of India and Pakistan.—A.P.I.

### NEW GOVERNOR OF U. P.

**MRS. NAIDU ARRIVES IN LUCKNOW**

LUCKNOW, Aug. 14.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Interim Governor-designate of the United Provinces, accompanied by her daughter, Miss Lilamani Naidu, arrived in Lucknow this morning from Delhi and was accorded a grand reception at the railway station where thousands of people carrying Congress tri-colours had gathered to welcome their first popular Governor. She was received at the platform by the Premier, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, other Ministers of the Cabinet, Parliamentary Secretaries and prominent Congressmen. Mrs. Naidu was garlanded by Lady Wazir Hasan and Shrimati Sheoravati Nehru. Major Burridge, Military Secretary to Sir Francis Wylie, received Mrs. Naidu on behalf of the Governor.

After inspecting a guard of honour provided by the Thirteenth Company of the Military Police, the Governor-designate drove through a decorated route lined by cheering crowds to Government House.

Sir Francis Wylie, the U.P. Governor, will relinquish his office to-day and leave Lucknow for Bombay en route to England.

Mrs. Naidu will be installed Governor at midnight.—A.P.I.

### NEW INDIAN CABINET

**OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT**

NEW DELHI, Aug. 14.

The new Cabinet which will function from August 15, announced to-night will consist of the following:

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru: Prime Minister, External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations; Scientific Research.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: Home, Information and Broadcasting and States.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad: Food and Agriculture.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: Education.

Dr. John Matthai: Railways and Transport.

Sardar Baldev Singh: Defence.

Mr. Jagjivan Ram: Labour.

Mr. C. H. Bhabha: Commerce.

Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai: Communications.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: Health.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Law.

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetti: Finance.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherjee: Industries and Supplies.

Mr. N. V. Gadgil: Works, Mines and Power.

### PAKISTAN CABINET

KARACHI, Aug. 14.

The new Pakistan Dominion Central Ministry will consist of six members headed by Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan, Premier, who will also be Minister for External Affairs and Defence, it is authoritatively learnt to-day.

The following will be the personnel of the Ministry along with their portfolios and they will be sworn in to-morrow:

Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan—External Affairs and Defence.

Mr. Ghulam Mohamed—Finance.

Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan—Home, Food, Agriculture and Health.

Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar—Railway, Communications, Information and Broadcasting.

Mr. I. I. Chundrigar—Commerce, Industry and Civil Supplies.

Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal—Law, Education, Works, Mines and Power.

### INDIAN ENVOY IN PAKISTAN

**MR. SRI PRAKASA PRESENTS CREDENTIALS**

KARACHI, Aug. 13.

Mr. Sri Prakasa, Government of India's High Commissioner in Pakistan, presented his credentials to Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan, Minister for External Affairs, Pakistan Government, to-day.

Mr. Sri Prakasa said: "Personally, I feel assured that both Qaid-e-Azam and Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan are sincerely desirous that all communal antagonism should be things of the past and the citizens of either States should work for the well-being of the respective States regardless of their creed in a spirit of loyalty and goodwill."

"It will be a pity, almost a tragedy, Mr. Liaqat Ali rightly said, if the two States were to become purely Hindu or Muslim States without any Muslim co-operating in India or any Hindu co-operating in Pakistan."

"It is needless to say that it will be my earnest endeavour to work for the consummation of these hopes and the attainment of this object," said Mr. Sri Prakasa in conclusion.—U.P.I.

### BURMA DEFENCE SERVICES

**RATES OF PAY ANNOUNCED**

RANGOON, Aug. 13.

The Government to-day announced the rates of pay and allowance for Burma Defence Services. The minimum basic pay for an army recruit was fixed at Rs. 30 and the maximum pay for a Brigadier at Rs. 1,400.

Sergeants will be paid from Rs 65 to Rs. 135. Warrant Officers from Rs. 130 to Rs. 300, Lieutenants from Rs. 350 to Rs. 600, Captains from Rs. 525 to Rs. 700, Majors from Rs. 800 to Rs. 1,000, Lieut.-Colonels from Rs. 1,100 to Rs. 1,200 and Colonels will draw Rs. 1,300.

It was officially announced to-day that certificates of release are now being issued to European officers of the Burma Civil and Police Services who desire them, at the Governor's discretion.—Reuter.

### EARLDOM FOR MOUNTBATTEN

LONDON, Aug. 14.

Viscount Mountbatten, Governor-General-designate of India, was to-day awarded an Earldom.

### INAUGURATION OF PAKISTAN

### MOUNTBATTEN'S ADDRESS

### KING'S GOOD WISHES

KARACHI, Aug 14.

Amidst unprecedented scenes of splendour and colour in this festive capital city of the new Dominion, the Viceroy, Lord Louis Mountbatten, addressed this morning the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan—a Dominion, fifth largest in the world with seventy million inhabitants—on the eve of its attaining complete freedom.

With numerous jewelled war decorations and orders glittering under the flashlights, Lord Louis Mountbatten who was in his Admiral's uniform, delivered his historic speech lasting fifteen minutes in a dignified and measured tone to a full House with galleries packed with high personages, diplomats, world Pressmen and prominent citizens.

Qaid-e-Azam Mohamed Ali Jinnah, President of the Constituent Assembly led the Viceroy on his arrival to the Throne placed along with his Presidential chair. His Excellency Sir Claude Auchinleck, Commander-in-Chief of India, the Hon. Pamela Mountbatten and Begum Liaqat Ali Khan occupied the front row in the distinguished gallery, while Lady Mountbatten and Miss Fatima Jinnah sat together in the next row near the Viceregal Throne.

**VICEROY'S ADDRESS**

The following is the text of the address delivered by His Excellency Lord Mountbatten to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly to-day:

Mr. President and members of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan:

I have a message from His Majesty the King to deliver to you to-day. This is His Majesty's message:

"I send you my greetings and warmest wishes on this great occasion when the new Dominion of Pakistan is about to take its place in the British Commonwealth of Nations. In thus achieving your independence by agreement, you have set an example to all freedom-loving people throughout the world.

"I know that I can speak for all sections of opinion within the British Commonwealth when I say that their support will not fail you in upholding democratic principles. I am confident that the statesmanship and the spirit of co-operation which have led to the historic developments you are now celebrating will be the best guarantee of your future happiness and prosperity. Great responsibilities lie ahead of your leaders. May the blessings of the Almighty sustain you in all your future tasks. Be assured always of my sympathy and support as I watch your continuing efforts to advance the cause of humanity."

I am speaking to you to-day as your Viceroy. To-morrow the Government of the new Dominion of Pakistan will rest in your hands and I shall be the constitutional head of your neighbour, the Dominion of India. The leaders of both Governments, however, have invited me to be the independent Chairman of the Joint Defence Council. This is an honour which I shall strive to merit.

**AN EVENT IN HISTORY**

To-morrow two new sovereign States will take their place in the Commonwealth: not young nations, but the heirs to old and proud civilisations: fully independent states, whose leaders are statesmen, already known and respected throughout the world whose poets and philosophers, scientists, and warriors, have made their imperishable contribution to the service of mankind: not immature governments or weak, but fit to carry their great share of responsibility for the peace and progress of the world.

The birth of Pakistan is an event in history. We, who are part of history, and are helping to make it, are not well-placed, even if we wished, to moralise on the event, to look back and survey the sequence of the past that led to it. History seems sometimes to move with the infinite slowness of a glacier, and sometimes to rush forward in a torrent. Just now, in this part of the world our united efforts have melted the ice and moved some impediments in the stream, and we are carried onwards in the full flood. There is no time to look back. There is time only to look forward.

I wish to pay tribute to the great men, your leaders, who helped to arrive at a peaceful solution for the transfer of power.

**TRIBUTE TO MR. JINNAH**

Here I would like to express my tribute to Mr. Jinnah. Our close personal contact, and the mutual trust and understanding that have grown out of it, are, I feel, the best of omens for future good relations. He has my sincere good wishes as your new Governor-General.

Moral courage is the truest attribute of greatness and the men who have allowed the paramount need for agreement and a peaceful solution to take precedence over the hopes and claims they so strongly held and keenly felt, have shown moral courage in a high degree. I wish to acknowledge, too, the help of others of the men who advised and assisted the process of negotiation: of the men who kept the machinery of administration running, under great difficulties, of the men who have worked day and night to solve the innumerable problems of partition. All this has been achieved with toil and sweat. I wish I could say also without tears and blood. But terrible crimes have been committed. It is justifiable to reflect, however, that far more terrible things might have happened if the majority had not proved worthy of the high endeavour of their leaders, or had not listened to that great appeal which Mr. Jinnah and Mahatma Gandhi together made, and which the respective future Governments reiterated in a statement made by the Partition Council.

May I remind you of the terms of that statement? The two Governments declared that "it is their intention to safeguard the legitimate interests of all citizens, irrespective of religion, caste or sex. In the exercise of their normal civic rights all citizens will be regarded as equal and both Governments will assure to all people within their territories the exercise of liberties such as freedom of speech, the right to form associations, the right to worship in their own way and the protection of their language and culture. Both Governments further undertake that there shall be no discrimination against those who before August 15 have been political opponents".

**CHARTER OF LIBERTY**

The honouring of these words will mean nothing less than a Charter of Liberty for a fifth of the human race.

Some days ago I went to Lahore. From the reports I had received I expected to witness a scene of unparalleled devastation. Those of you, who have not visited Lahore, will be relieved to hear that the destruction is far less than I expected. It amounts to not more than eighteen houses per thousand of the whole municipal area. I do not say this in extenuation of the madness which

(Continued on page 8)

FOLLOW US:
thehindu.com
facebook.com/thehindu
twitter.com/the_hindu
instagram.com/the_hindu

# THE HINDU

INDIA'S NATIONAL NEWSPAPER SINCE 1878

MONDAY, AUGUST 15, 2022

BENGALURU
CITY EDITION
Vol. 53 • No. 193
40 pages • ₹6.00

Stock investor Rakesh Jhunjhunwala dies at the age of 62
page 15

Shinde keeps Urban Development, Fadnavis gets Home, Finance
page 15

U.S. Congressional team makes unannounced visit to Taiwan
page 16

Salman Rushdie's agent confirms he is on the road to recovery
page 16

PRINTED AT · CHENNAI · COIMBATORE · BENGALURU · HYDERABAD · MADURAI · NOIDA · VISAKHAPATNAM · THIRUVANANTHAPURAM · KOCHI · VIJAYAWADA · MANGALURU · TIRUCHIRAPALLI · KOLKATA · HUBBALLI · MOHALI · MALAPPURAM · MUMBAI · TIRUPATI · LUCKNOW · CUTTACK · PATNA

## NEARBY

**The firing that changed the course of struggle**

BENGALURU

Vidurashwatha witnessed a ghastly "massacre" — as described by eyewitnesses — of 32 freedom fighters in police firing for trying to hoist the tricolour on April 25, 1938.

KARNATAKA ▸ PAGE 6

**Govt. under fire for its media advertisement**

BENGALURU

The dropping of Jawaharlal Nehru from the list of freedom fighters in the State government's media advertisement that appeared on Sunday came under sharp criticism from progressive writers and the Congress, which sought an apology fromthe Chief Minister.

SOUTH ▸ PAGE 8

**Madhuswamy's remarks embarrass BJP**

BENGALURU/MYSURU

A purported audio of Law and Parliamentary Affairs Minister J.C. Madhuswamy, who is heard telling that "the government is not functioning " has gone viral on social media, causing embarrassment to the BJP government.

SOUTH ▸ PAGE 8

INDIA @ 75 SPECIAL FEATURE ▸ 12 PAGES

EDUCATIONPLUS ▸ PAGES 21 & 22

# India proved sceptics wrong, says President

## 'Democracy not only grew roots here, it was enriched too'

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT
NEW DELHI

Greeting all Indians in her address on the eve of Independence Day, President Droupadi Murmu on Sunday said the event marked the day when the people had freed themselves from the shackles of colonial rulers and decided to reshape the country's destiny.

"As all of us celebrate the anniversary of that day, we bow to all those men and women who made enormous sacrifices to make it possible for us to live in a free India," the President said and added that August 14 is observed as Partition Horrors Remembrance Day so as to promote social harmony, unity and empowerment.

Ms. Murmu said this Independence Day was a cause of celebration not only for all Indians but also for every advocate of democracy around the world. She said India proved wrong the sceptics who doubted the success of the democratic form of government in the country.

### 'Universal franchise'

"India, after so many years of exploitation at the hands of foreign rulers, was marked by poverty and illiteracy. But we Indians proved the sceptics wrong. Democracy not only grew roots in this soil, it was enriched too," she said citing the example of universal adult franchise right since the beginning of the Republic.

She said at the beginning of civilisation, saints and seers of this land had developed a vision of humanity that was defined by equality of all; indeed, oneness of all.

She said the celebrations of *Azadi ka Amrit Mahotsav* were dedicated to the people of India. "Indian Tricolour is fluttering in every nook and corner of the country. Great martyrs would have been thrilled to see the spirit of the Independence Movement coming alive again on such a massive scale," she said. She said for a country like India, the passage of 75 years is merely a blink of an eye. "But for us as individuals, it is a lifetime."

CONTINUED ON ▸ PAGE 14

MURMU INVOKES KUVEMPU IN ADDRESS ▸ PAGE 8

**Proud occasion:** President Droupadi Murmu addressing the nation on the eve of the 76th Independence Day in New Delhi. • PTI

> ..after Independence, all the generations have toiled hard; how we met great challenges and how we have taken charge of our destiny. The lessons learnt in the process will prove useful as we move towards the next milestone in the journey of the nation – the *Amrit Kaal*, the 25 years to the celebration of the centenary of our Independence. We will have given a concrete shape to the vision of those who, led by Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar, drafted the Constitution
>
> DROUPADI MURMU, President of India

# A cross-border family's visa travails

## Man gets visa after six years to visit family in India

SUHASINI HAIDAR
NEW DELHI

Days before Independence Day celebrations of Pakistan and India, Ganpat Singh received a call he has long been waiting for. The Indian High Commission in Islamabad said his visa to India was approved on Saturday, granting him freedom to meet his family in India after six long, tragic years.

Mr. Singh is a Pakistani citizen born in the Hindu Rajput Sodha community, based in the Umarkot (earlier Amarkot) principality of the Sindh Province. As the ties between India and Pakistan collapsed after the Uri attack in September 2016, so did his world, as he was "blacklisted".

"When my visa was first rejected, I thought it must be a mistake. They said I had been 'blacklisted' for overstaying in India, though I had applied for extensions online. I couldn't believe it," he said on the phone to *The Hindu*.

CONTINUED ON ▸ PAGE 14

**Across borders:** Dimple Kanwar lives in India, while her spouse, Ganpat Singh, is a Pakistani citizen. • SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT

## Political row over Partition remembrance

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT
NEW DELHI

Prime Minister Narendra Modi on Sunday paid homage to all those who lost their lives during Partition and applauded the "resilience as well as grit" of all those who suffered.

Targeting the Prime Minister, the Congress said the tragedy of Partition was being used as fodder to fuel "hate and prejudice".

CONTINUED ON ▸ PAGE 14

# Ratio of women judges has risen considerably: U.U. Lalit

## 'Virtual courts have opened new frontiers'

KRISHNADAS RAJAGOPAL
NEW DELHI

Chief Justice of India-designate Uday Umesh Lalit believes the ratio of women judges has risen considerably in the 75 years of Independence as more women find a judicial career acceptable.

Justice Lalit, speaking to *The Hindu* on Sunday, said "the picture may change in the next 10 or 15 years. Today, we are completing 75 years of Independence, maybe when we complete 100 years, the ratio of women in judiciary would be completely different".

Reacting to whether the retirement age of judges should be increased from 65 to 67, Justice Lalit said, "This is for the lawmakers to decide."

The CJI-designate said "virtual courts have opened new frontiers and smudged geographical boundaries".

Justice Lalit said the collegium presided by Chief Justice of India N.V. Ramana, of which he is a part of, made 255 recommendations to the High Courts in 11 months.

INTERVIEW ON ▸ PAGE 14

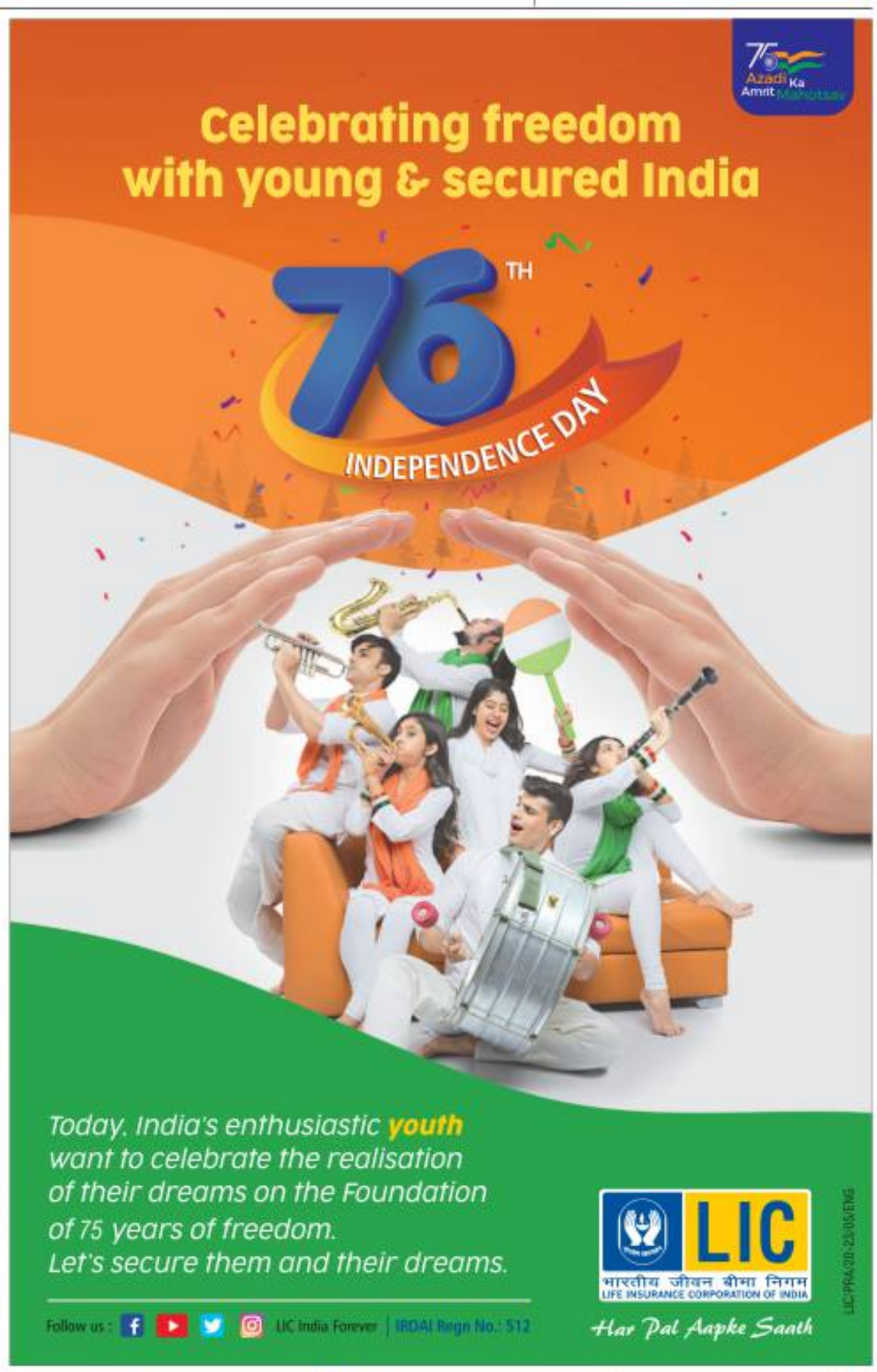
HAPPIEST HEALTH
Better Knowledge. Better Health.

TODAY'S TOP 5 on AYURVEDA WAY OF LIFE

- The Sattvic diet
- Benefits of organ-shaped foods
- Fasting, the Ayurveda way
- Ayurveda's three vital entities
- Foot massage to sleep better

Scan to read

www.happiesthealth.com



# India 75


***Federalism***
Evaluating the need for a new federal compact in India
PAGE IV

***National security***
Analysing internal and external security threats — past, present and future
PAGE V

***Diversity***
How a minority community has been accommodated variably in India
PAGE X

***Sport***
Some successes and the promise of a better sporting future
PAGE XI

ILLUSTRATION: SATHEESH VELLINEZHI

## Looking back, looking ahead...

This special section continues the exploration of themes related to Indian nationhood as the country completes 75 years of independence. Threads related to macro-economic development, federalism, internal security, the climate change challenge, science and technology policy, parliamentarism and electoral democracy, the role of the military, minority accommodation and sports are delineated in articles by eminent social scientists, journalists and former public officials. Apart from an overview of the developments in the last 75 years, these articles also provide normative suggestions for the future of the nation


Bank of Baroda
Credit Card

15 cards
with 5X rewards
for 75th Freedom Day
to help you experience Lifelong Financial Freedom

Happy Freedom Day

Apply Now at www.bobfinancial.com or SCAN ME TO APPLY NOW

→ Fill e-Application
→ E-sign Application
→ Verify with VKYC

Follow Us On

www.margadarsi.com

RAMOJI GROUP

CELEBRATE
75TH INDEPENDENCE DAY
WITH FINANCIAL FREEDOM

Hello Margadarsi
Goodbye Uncertainty.

60 YEARS OF TRUST

Running your own retail business is fantastic. But like we've seen in the recent past, uncertainties can strike any time. Which is why, it makes great sense to subscribe to Margadarsi Chit Fund. Because Margadarsi not only lets you save and earn dividends, but gives you the option of withdrawing a lump sum amount to help you meet expenditures during difficult times. And makes you feel financially secure. So start saving in Margadarsi today. And say goodbye to uncertainties.

Established in 1962 | 60 lakh subscribers serviced till date | Annual turnover ₹9712cr | 108 branches

ಮಾರ್ಗದರ್ಶಿ
Margadarsi
CHITS (KARNATAKA) PRIVATE LIMITED
Life is easier when you plan with Margadarsi

Toll Free No. 1800 425 7373 | SMS <MARG> to 56263 | Registered Office: #5-801 & 802, South Block, Manipal Centre, 47, Dickenson Road, Bengaluru-560 042 | Ph: 080-25322939

Bengaluru: Gandhi Nagar 09844413443/080-22384676 | Jayanagar 09886895472/080-22457994/22457374 | Indira Nagar 07022032210/080-25203738/25211048 | Basaveswara Nagar 09886895462/080-23118228/23148783 | BTM Layout 09448732683/080-26687374/26687375 | RT Nagar Main Road 09945888381/080-23534949/22744685 | Marthahally 07022032211/080-25401305 | Banashankari 07022032209/080-26796804/26790682 | Peenya 09886538427/080-28392044/32217105 | HSR Layout 09945023103/07079851436/7019781964 | Bellari: 07022032202/08392-279819/267990 | Hosapete: 09242979114/08394-222552/325445 | Mysuru: 09845171673/0821-3296387 | Raichur: 07022032204/08532-229516 | Hubballi: 07022032207/0836-2356211/2354149 | Davangere: 09972071664/08192-251461/237760 | Shivamogga: 09886359387/08182-224644 | Mangaluru: 09632341559/0824-2442142/2447742 | Hassan: 09964224000/08172-233576/233252 | Tumakuru: 09741250207/0816-2255103/104/3203810 | Belagavi: 09902670469/0831-2431687.

THE HINDU

# Text & Context

India 75

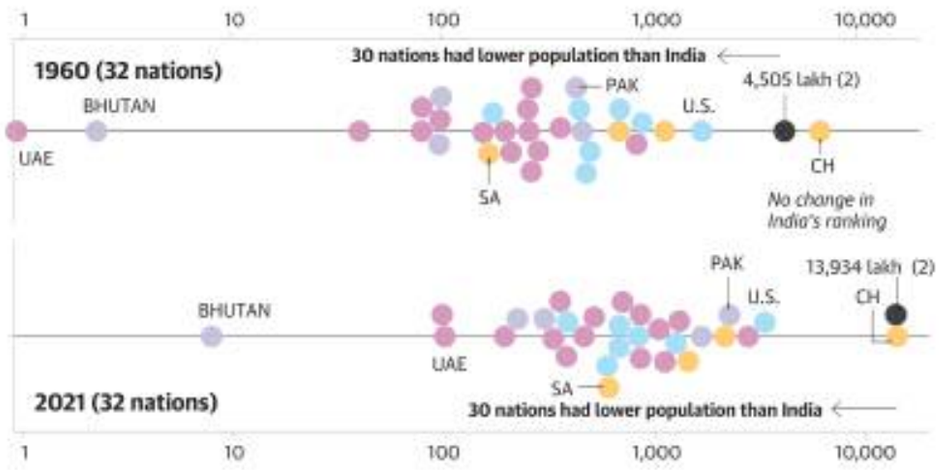
FOLLOW US:
thehindu.com
facebook.com/thehindu
twitter.com/the_hindu
instagram.com/the_hindu

# India's relative pace of growth @75

As every country including India has progressed in the past 75 years, it becomes imperative to compare India's relative progress with other countries. A look at ● India's performance across several indicators, earlier and now, with a specific set of countries: ● BRICS ● Emerging economies ● Indian subcontinent and ● G7. By **Rebecca Rose Varghese** and **Vignesh Radhakrishnan**

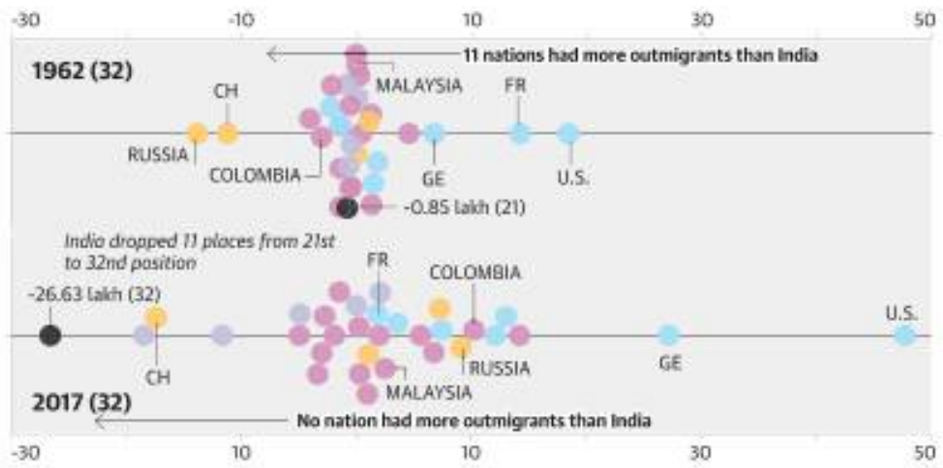
## Population: 1960 vs 2021

India's population increased from **4,505 lakh in 1960 to 13,934 lakh by 2021**. While its population has remained the second-highest throughout this period, it is now catching up with China (CH), the most populated nation. Of the 32 nations compared, UAE has had a considerable rise in population (from 92,000 in 1960 to 99.9 lakh) mostly owing to in-migration. ***The graph shows population in lakh***



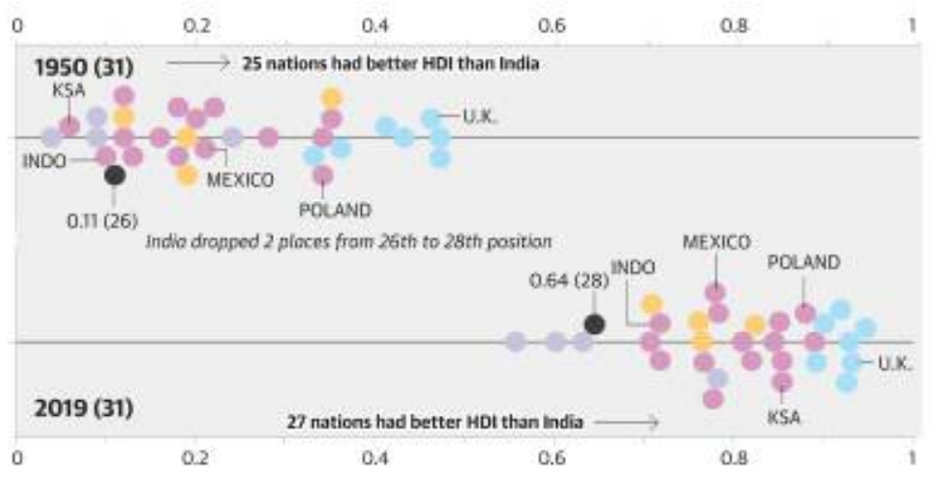

## Net migration : 1960s vs 2017

India has always been a country with net out-migration. That is, it sends out more people than it takes in. However, in the past five decades the out-migration has intensified. In 2017, India had the **highest number of out-migrants** among the 31 nations considered. In the 1960s, 11 countries had more out-migrants than India. ***The graph shows net migration, in-migration minus out-migration (in lakh)***



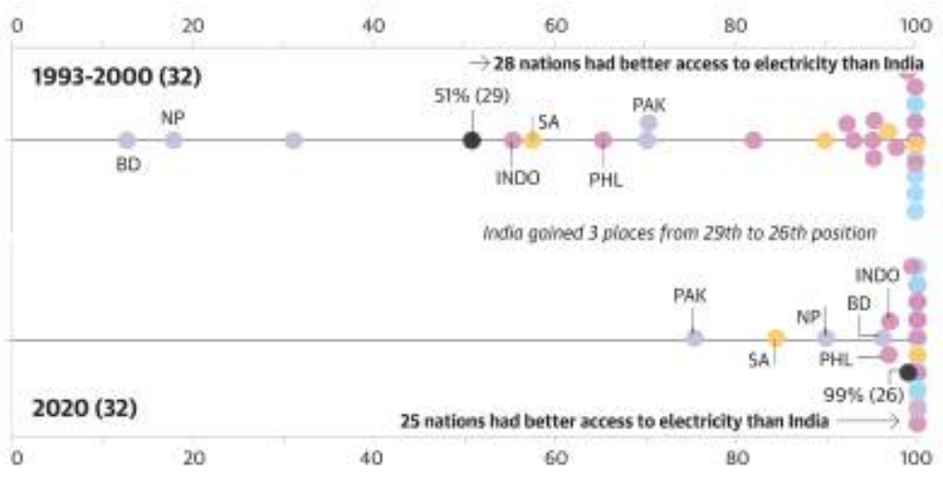

## HDI: 1950 vs 2019

The Human Development Index (HDI) is a measure of life expectancy, access to education and standard of living. ***The graph shows HDI*** measured on a scale of 0 (worst) to 1 (best). India's HDI improved from **0.11 in 1950 to 0.64 in 2019**. Despite the progress in absolute terms, its ranking among select countries dropped from **26th to 28th**. Two countries — Indonesia (INDO) and Saudi Arabia (KSA) surpassed India



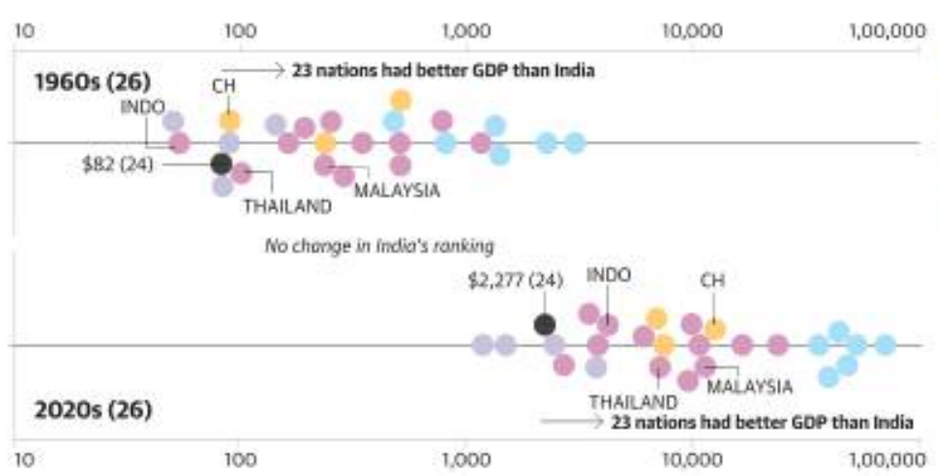

## Access to electricity: 1993-2000 vs 2020

In 1993, only 51% of India's population had access to electricity. It was ranked 29 among the 32 nations considered. In 2020, India gained 3 positions to the 26th rank, outpacing Indonesia, the Philippines (PHL), Bangladesh, Nepal, S.Africa (SA) and Pakistan. ***The graph shows the share of population with electricity access in %***



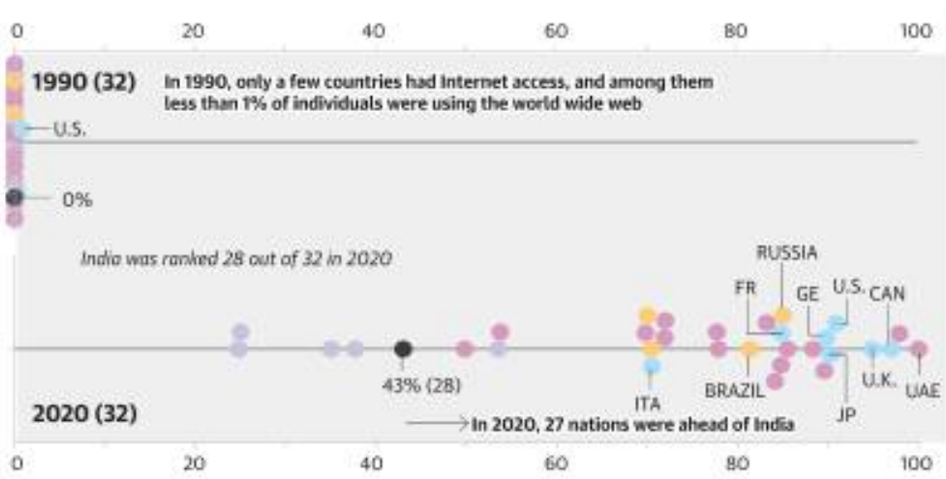

## GDP per capita: 1960s vs 2020s

India ranked **24 out of the selected 26 nations** in GDP per capita. Its ranking **remained unchanged** in the 1960s and in 2020. While Indonesia lagged behind India in the 1960s, it moved ahead by 2020. ***The graph shows GDP per capita ($)*** which is the sum of gross value added by all resident producers in the economy divided by mid-year population



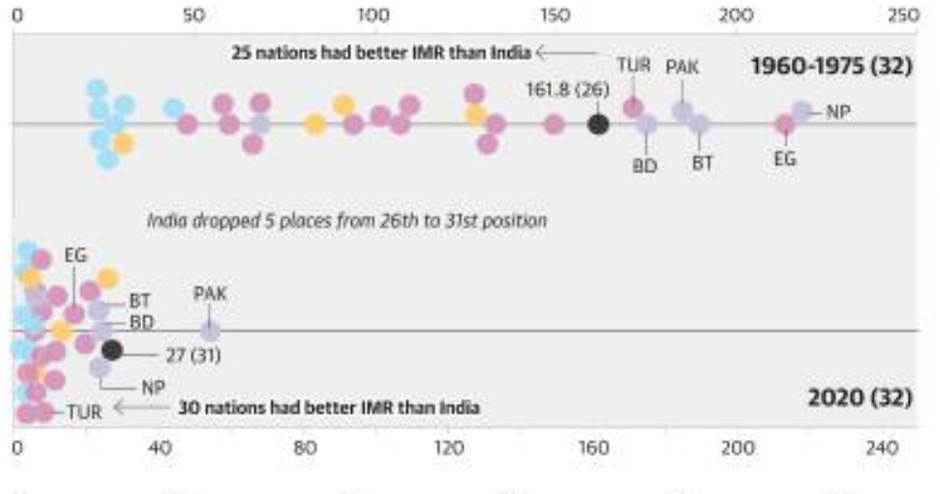

## Internet usage: 1990 vs 2020

Only the U.S., U.K., Canada (CAN), Germany (GE), France (FR), Japan (JP) and Italy (ITA) out of 32 countries considered had Internet access in 1990. But by 2020, the Internet usage was widespread with 43% of Indians using it. India ranked 28, ahead of Nepal, Sri Lanka (SL), Pakistan and Bangladesh in 2020. ***The graph shows the share of population with the Internet access in %***



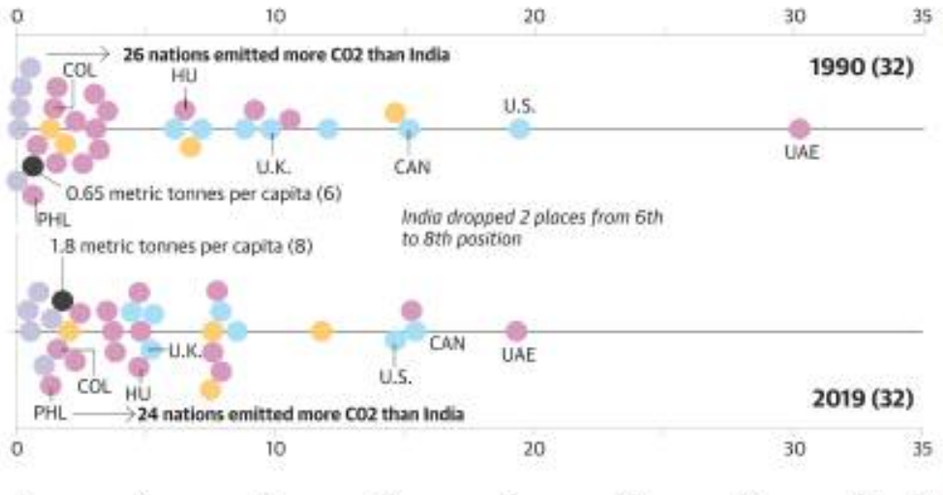

## IMR: 1960-75 vs 2020

In 1960, with an infant mortality rate (IMR) of 161.8, **India ranked 26th out of 32 nations**. It had a better IMR than Turkey (TUR), Bangladesh (BD), Bhutan (BT), Egypt (EG), Nepal (NP) and Pakistan (PAK). ***The graph depicts IMR*** which is the number of infants dying before their first birthday per 1,000 live births. By 2020, **India's IMR improved to 27**, but except Pakistan, the aforementioned five countries surpassed India



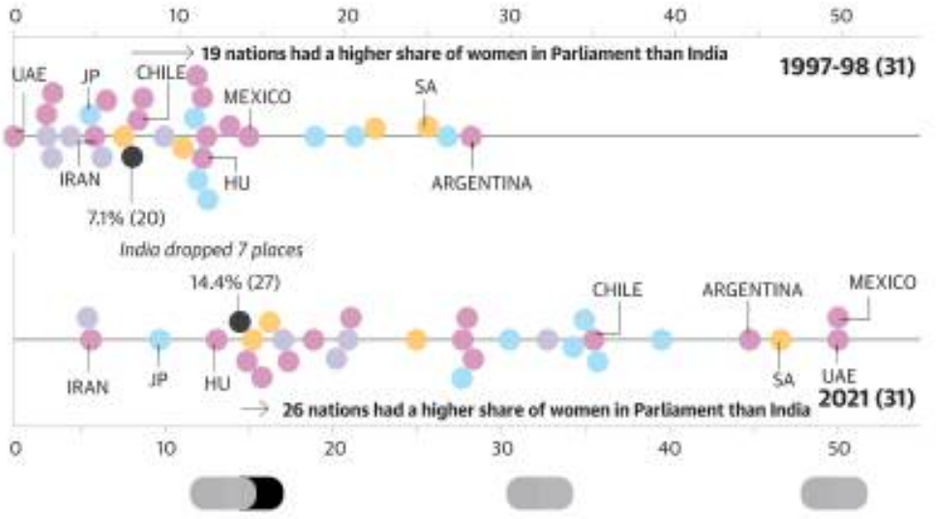

## CO2 emission: 1990 vs 2019

India's emission of carbon dioxide per capita has been significantly lower than other countries in the past three decades. But its position has fallen by two places between 1990 and 2019 among the 32 nations considered. It was the 6th lowest emitter in 1990 and and 8th lowest by 2019. Colombia (COL) and the Philippines bettered India in this period. ***The graph shows CO2 emission in metric tonnes per capita***



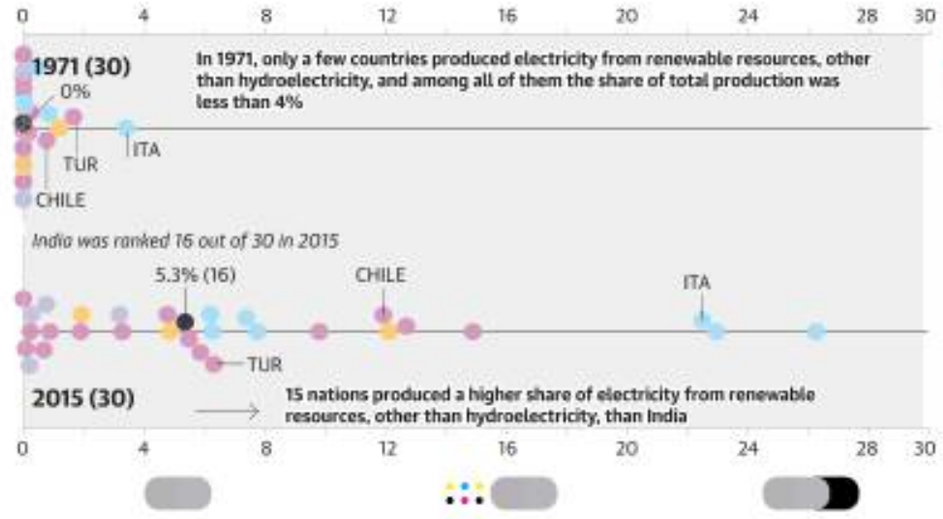

## Women in Parliament (%): 1997-98 vs 2021

Despite having seen several women in political leadership positions, India's relative growth in the ***share of women in Parliament*** has been slow with many countries outpacing India. From **7% in 1997, the share doubled to 14% in 2021**. Among the 31 nations compared, India ranked 27, positioned slightly ahead of Hungary (HU). Notably, India had a better rank (20) in 1997




## Renewable resources: 1971 vs 2015

India's electricity production from renewable resources such as wind, biomass, and biofuels has grown at a sedate pace. In 1971, it was yet to open its account. By 2015, 5.3% of India's electricity was produced using renewable sources, ranked 15 out of 30 nations. ***The graph shows the share of electricity produced using renewable resources except hydropower (in %)***



THE HINDU MONDAY, AUGUST 15, 2022

# India 75

***Unity as key***

Manmohan Singh on the need to protect our hard-won freedoms

PAGE 10

***The Independence generation***

Gopalkrishna Gandhi on how freedom fighters' ideals are now under strain

PAGE 11

***India and China at 75***

Rana Mitter on how China and India will shape Asia in the next decade

PAGE 12

***The decentralisation dream***

T.R. Raghunandan on why local governments need to be empowered more

PAGE 13

ILLUSTRATION: SATHEESH VELLINEZHI

*The Hindu* is marking 75 years of India's Independence with a special issue of articles that cover the nation's birth pangs after Partition, the adoption of Parliamentary democracy and a federal Constitution, the challenges of internal security and external threats, a development paradigm that drew on lessons from other countries and yet was in many ways uniquely Indian, and the hard-won achievements in science, culture, and sports. They are both an assessment of the past and a vision of the future, a recognition of the difficulties and an understanding of the possibilities. Contributors include eminent social scientists, former public officials, and senior journalists. *The Hindu* greets its readers on 75 years of India's Independence with this special edition.

— **Suresh Nambath**, Editor

# Chamarajpet turns into fortress for I-Day

## Over 850 police personnel, including eight platoons of KSRP, have been deployed at the Idgah Maidan

STAFF REPORTER
BENGALURU

Chamarajpet has turned into a fortress with heavy police deployment as the State government has organised a programme to hoist the tricolour at the controversial Idgah Maidan on Monday morning.

As Hindutva organisations sought permission to hold a host of events at the Idgah Maidan in June, its ownership turned controversial as both the civic body and the Karnataka State Board of Auqaf claimed ownership.

The BBMP recently turned down an application by the Wakf Board for khata in its name and declared the Karnataka Revenue Department as the default owner of the land, a decision being contested by the Wakf Board.

Personnel from the Rapid Action force and State police at the Idgah Maidan in Bengaluru on Sunday. • PTI

Following this, Revenue Minister R. Ashok chaired a meeting and decided that the department will hoist the tricolour at the grounds. Assistant Commissioner will hoist the flag at 8 a.m. Monday with local MLA B.Z. Zameer Ahmed Khan and MP Tejaswi Surya as chief guests.

Home Minister Araga Jnanendra visited Idgah Maidan on Sunday evening with DG&IGP Praveen Sood and City Police Commissioner C.H. Pratap Reddy in tow and inspected security arrangements at the grounds. He said adequate security arrangements had been made and expressed confidence that the Independence Day would pass off without any untoward incident.

Over 850 police personnel, including Rapid Action Force commandos and eight platoons of Karnataka State Reserve Police (KSRP), have been deployed at the grounds, Laxman B. Nibargi, DCP (West), told mediapersons earlier in the day.

The city police have also conducted multiple route marches in Chamarajpet and surrounding areas of Valmikinagar, Azadnagar, and Tipunagar over the last two days. The police have also reportedly put the ground under constant surveillance of over 100 CCTV cameras, as they feel there was a threat to the Idgah arch at the grounds.

Meanwhile, several Hindutva organisations, including BJP leaders like national general secretary C. T. Ravi, have demanded permission to install a Ganesha idol at the grounds for the festival in the month-end. However, the Revenue Department is yet to take a call on the issue.

# 18 police officers win President's medal

STAFF REPORTER
BENGALURU

Eighteen police officers from the State have been awarded the police medal for meritorious service by the President of India on the occasion of I-Day.

N. Srinivas, principal, SP, PTS Kadur, Pratap Singh Thorat, Dy. SP, Bantwal, T.M. Shivakumar, Dy. SP, High Court Security, J.H. Inamdar, Dy. SP, DCRB Kalaburagi, N.T. Srinivasa Reddy, Dy. SP, CID Forest Cell, Narasimhamurthy, Dy. SP, CID, Raghavendra Rao Shindey, ACP, Bengaluru, Prakash R., DySP, ACB, Bengaluru, Dhruvaraj. B. Patil, CPI, Dharwad, Mohammed Ali S., PI, ACB, Bengaluru, G.C. Raja, CPI, Mysuru, Ravi B.S, CPI, Chikkamagaluru, Mufid Khan, Special RPI, KSRP, Mahadevaiah, special ARSI, KSRP, R. Murali, Special ARSI, KSRP, Basavaraja B. Andemmanavar, Assistant Intelligence Officer, State Intelligence, Balkrishna D. Shindhe, ASI, Belagavi, and Ranjith Shetty, ASI, Bengaluru are the officers who have won the medal for 2022.

## *Patriotic fervour*

(Clockwise from top left) The Tipu Sultan's Summer Palace; Government Museum; and Metro pillars on M.G. Road lit up in tricolour, and a replica of Mahatma Gandhi's iconic spectacles on display at the Mysuru Road metro station, as part of the 75th Independence Day celebrations, in Bengaluru on Sunday. • K. MURALI KUMAR

# Exhibition on the horrors of Partition

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT
MYSURU

An exhibition to mark 'Partition Horrors Remembrance Day' was organised by the Mysuru division of South Western Railway here on Sunday.

The exhibition was held on the city railway station premises and evoked a good response. The authorities said the event was organised to highlight the horrors of Partition and was announced by Prime Minister Narendra Modi who had declared during his Independence Day speech last year that August 14 would be observed as 'Partition Horrors Remembrance Day'. The exhibition was inaugurated by freedom fighter C.R. Ranga Shetty, 97. Additional DRMs A. Devasahyam and E. Vijay, were present. Mr. Ranga Shetty recalled the struggle and sacrifices of the people for decades before freedom was achieved.

Featured were photographs of those days along with newspaper clippings describing the plight of the people who were fleeing for safety.

CLASSIFIEDS MART
TO ADVERTISE:
www.thehinduads.com
Bengaluru: Tel: 9845529981 • 080-22071826
Mangaluru: Tel: 0824-2417575 • 2417580
Hubballi: Tel: 0836-2338600 • 2335700

BUSINESS OFFER
ARE YOU Need Business Loan Minimum 1Crore & Above Ct : 8122109759

XPRESSIONS
GREETINGS

TENDERS

DIGITAL UNIVERSITY KERALA
KERALA UNIVERSITY OF DIGITAL SCIENCES, INNOVATION AND TECHNOLOGY
Thiruvananthapuram-695317
Kerala, Ph: 0471-2788000
website:www.duk.ac.in
The Vice-Chancellor, Kerala University of Digital Sciences Innovation and Technology invites tenders from the eligible firms for the Supply, Installation and Commissioning of equipment for the Connected System Lab
For more details please visit the website https://etenders.kerala.gov.in/
Sd/-) Registrar

PERSONAL
CHANGE OF NAME
I MUSKAN, D/O (Surender) born on (04/12/1999) residing at (Sangeetha House, Bendore, Mangalore 575002), have changed my name to (Muskan Arora) vide affidavit dated (08/08/2022) at (mangalore).

PUBLIC NOTICE
PUBLIC NOTICE
Date:15-08-2022
Notice is hereby given to the general public on behalf of our Client Smt. Kovvuru Divya, W/o. Sri.N. Dinesh, resident of Bangalore, that her father Sri. Kovvuru Ramesh Kumar S/o. Sri Ramachandra Reddy, Retired Dy.Director has abandoned the family and living his life as per his own style. Therefore, our client being the married and the only daughter is not responsible and accountable for any of his activities in public. Therefore, the general public are cautioned and warned if anyone is dealing with our client's father will be at their own risk and responsibility and our client shall not be liable and responsible for any financial implications out of his dealing with the public.
K. SHANKAR RAO
G.V. NAGARAJARAO,
ADVOCATES,
On Behalf of Smt.K. DIVYA,
Office: D-402, Girisikhara Plaza, Ramnagar Main Road, Hyderabad-500020

LEGAL NOTICE
IN THE COURT OF HON'BLE CITY CIVIL JUDGE, MAYOHALL AT BENGALURU (CH-73)
O.S. No. 25624/2021
BETWEEN:
M/S ICICI BANK LTD.
Having its branch office at 4/10., Mythree Tower Bommanahalli Hosur Main Road Bangalore 560 068 And represented by its Collection Manager Mr. Pramodh G.
...PLAINTIFF
AND
Mr. SARAT KUMAR MANAHIRA S/O Purchandra Manahari No.D-3, No.58/7, 118/1B Koushik Residency, 2nd Main Royal County Layout, Parappana Agrahara, Electronics City, Bangalore-560100
Also at:
No. C 106 Atulya Apartment Ground Floor, 1RK Township Yarandahalli, off Cross Park Bangalore-560105
...DEFENDANT
WHEREAS the Plaintiff has instituted the above proceedings against you seeking recovery of Rs.9,71,250.04/- as on 18/04/2021 along with interest 24% P.A. and other consequential relief. You are hereby summoned to appear before the Hon'ble City Civil Judge, Mayo hall at Bangalore (CH-73) in person or by a pleader duly instructed and able to answer all material questions relating to the above proceedings on 13.09.22 at 11:00 AM, take notice that in default of your appearance on the day mentioned before the suit will be heard and determined in your absence.
Given under my hand and seal of this Court, this 28th day of July 2022.
By order of this Hon'ble Court
Advocate For Plaintiff
Anvaya Law Advocate & Consultants, First Floor, Indian Express Building No.1 Queens Road, Bangalore- 560001.

ಬೃಹತ್ ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು ಮಹಾನಗರ ಪಾಲಿಕೆ
ಎನ್.ಆರ್. ಚೌಕ, ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು–560 002.
ಸರ್ವರಿಗೂ 75ನೇ ವರ್ಷದ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯ ದಿನಾಚರಣೆಯ ಶುಭಾಶಯಗಳು
ಕ್ರಾಂತಿವೀರ ಸಂಗೊಳ್ಳಿ ರಾಯಣ್ಣರವರ 225ನೇ ಜಯಂತೋತ್ಸವ ಅಂಗವಾಗಿ
ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಮುಖ್ಯಮಂತ್ರಿಗಳಾದ ಸನ್ಮಾನ್ಯ ಶ್ರೀ ಬಸವರಾಜ ಎಸ್. ಬೊಮ್ಮಾಯಿ ರವರಿಂದ ಸಂಗೊಳ್ಳಿ ರಾಯಣ್ಣರವರ ಪುತ್ಥಳಿಗೆ ಮಾಲಾರ್ಪಣೆ ಹಾಗೂ ಗೌರವ ಸಮರ್ಪಣೆ
ದಿನಾಂಕ: 15.08.2022, ಸೋಮವಾರ, ಬೆಳಿಗ್ಗೆ 10:15 ಕ್ಕೆ
ಸ್ಥಳ: ಕಾಂತ್ರಿವೀರ ಸಂಗೊಳ್ಳಿ ರಾಯಣ್ಣ ಪುತ್ಥಳಿ ಆವರಣ, ದೇವರಾಜ ಅರಸು ವೃತ್ತ (ಹೋಡೆ ಸರ್ಕಲ್), ಕ್ರಾಂತಿವೀರ ಸಂಗೊಳ್ಳಿ ರಾಯಣ್ಣ ರೈಲ್ವೆ ನಿಲ್ದಾಣದ ಎದುರು, ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು.
ರಾಕೇಶ್ ಸಿಂಗ್, ಭಾ.ಆ.ಸೇ., ಆಡಳಿತಗಾರರು, ಜಿಬಿಎಂಪಿ
ತುಷಾರ್ ಗಿರಿ ನಾಥ್, ಭಾ.ಆ.ಸೇ., ಮುಖ್ಯ ಆಯುಕ್ತರು, ಜಿಬಿಎಂಪಿ
"ಎಲ್ಲಾ ವೈಯಕ್ತಿಕ ಮತ್ತು ಸಾಮೂಹಿಕ ಚಟುವಟಿಕೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಉನ್ನತ ಸಾಧನೆಯ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನಿಸಿ ದೇಶದ ಪ್ರಗತಿಗಾಗಿ ಶ್ರಮಿಸುವುದು ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಬ್ಬ ಭಾರತೀಯನ ಸಂವಿಧಾನಬದ್ಧ ಮೂಲಭೂತ ಕರ್ತವ್ಯ"

Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav
Happy Independence Day
Follow us on :
/ KarnatakaBank
Karnataka Bank
Your Family Bank. Across India.

ADVERTISEMENT

# HERALDING UNPRECEDENTED BENCHMARKS IN RESIDENTIAL LIVING

Having never swayed away from the founding philosophy of "Improving lifestyles and Enhancing lives" and having always stayed true to ushering in fresh living experiences to residential buyers, it comes as no great surprise that, brand Baashyaam has steadily gained ground and made an enviable reputation as a formidable player in the real estate terrain in Chennai.

As the city, its landscape and buyer profile started progressing and embracing new ideas, it opened new vistas and further evolved the brand's philosophy to address home needs of every conceivable need, type, size, and cost.

**Crown Residences** - *A Self-Contained Epic Township, Koyambedu.*

## Unflinching cornerstones of the brand

Three decades plus pioneer in the infrastructure vertical.

Reputed for transparent business practices.

Bearer of the continuous innovator tag with sound emphasis on quality adherence.

An unmatched reputation for dependability and an obsession for timely delivery.

Successful track record of residential, commercial and township projects.

End-to-end capabilities right from inception to finish.

(Right from modernisation in construction procedures, to excellent architectural innovations and service, to completion and handover of property)

Unflinching attention to customer and societal needs, with successful integration of diverse businesses like agriculture and hospitality.

A growing loyal community of thousands of delighted customers.

One-stop solution provider for making a prudent investment choice with the vision of *"Improving lifestyles and Enhancing lives"*.

**Le Grand Trianon** - *French Classical Luxury Homes at Kasthuri Rangan Road, Poes Garden.*

## Catering the entire spectrum of residential development

With a newfound zeal and with a broadened perspective, the brand grew from strength to strength by providing affordable homes, to value for investment independent homes, then graduated to aspirational residential skyscrapers, premium, luxury, super luxury homes, commercial development and very recently progressed to envisioning and executing large housing communities too.

Today the who's who in the home buyer market, seriously factor Brand Baashyaam before making their high end home investment decisions.

## The virtues that make the endearing brand

Unswerving focus, a near maniacal obsession for quality, a firm pulse on design trends, familiarity with emerging construction techniques, open business practices, a tradition for honouring commitments at all costs, have enabled the brand to build trust and earn precious goodwill. When the brand embarks on any project, it ventures with the brimming desire and confidence to earn plenty of trust, loads of smiles and endless goodwill.

From modest beginnings, it has steadily gained ground and grown exponentially. Today it has earned the enviable tag of a formidable player in the real estate industry. Over the years, Baashyaam Constructions has become a credible brand of choice for home seekers hailing from diverse backgrounds.

**The Peak** - *An Iconic High-Rise in 11th Avenue, Ashok Nagar.*

**Sadhr Gardens** - *A Well-Guarded Posh Secret within an Upscale Residential Locale, Kasthuri Rangan Road.*

### SMART PREMIUM HOME AUTOMATION SYSTEMS

The brand strives hard to be an early adopter of cutting-edge home automation technology. Identifying the best technology service providers and partnering reputed brands ensures every discerning home buyer gets the maximum convenience, comfort and luxury.

## Striving for a greener, cleaner legacy

The brand is a big believer in restoring ecological balance and preserving natural resources.

Continuous efforts and steps are taken to invest in efficient rainwater harvesting systems and replenishing groundwater adequately.

Most aged trees are carefully uprooted with encircling soil and usually relocated within the property.

The brand is totally committed to providing adequate green cover in most of the projects.

BAASHYAAM
IMPROVING LIFESTYLES - ENHANCING LIVES

LIBERATED LIFESTYLES
THAT COMPLEMENT
YOUR PROGRESSIVE
ASPIRATIONS

OUR PRESTIGIOUS ON-GOING PROJECTS

CROWN
RESIDENCES
Wise man's luxury

A Self-Contained Epic Township,
Koyambedu, Chennai.

Rera No: TN/29/Building/0184/2020. Dated: 18/06/2020

THE PEAK
Elevate your aspirations

An Iconic High-Rise in
11th Avenue, Ashok Nagar, Chennai.

Rera No: TN/29/BUILDING/0102/2022

THE
PLUTUS
RESIDENCE
Indulge in a rewarding lifestyle

Plush Posh Residences at
LB Road, Adyar, Chennai.

RERA No: TN/29/BUILDING/136/2019 Dated : 13/09/2019

CREDAI

BAASHYAAM CONSTRUCTIONS PVT. LTD.
No. 87, G.N. Chetty Road, T. Nagar, Chennai – 600 017.
Email: enquiry@bashyamgroup.com
www.bashyamgroup.com

Call 98404 77777

India 75

THE HINDU
Text & Context

# STATES IN NUMBERS

### Life expectancy

**70** In years, the average life expectancy of Indians at birth in 2020, according to the World Bank. The life expectancy improved to 41 years in 1960, more than a decade after the country got independence. Men in India had a life expectancy of 69 years, while women's stood at 71 years in 2020. The corresponding numbers for men and women in 1960 were respectively 42 and 41 years, indicating a relatively better improvement for women than men. The death rate has decreased from 22 per 1,000 people in 1960 to 7 in 2020.

### Urban population

**5.08** In crore, Maharashtra's urban population in 2011, the highest among all States/U.T.s in the country, according to RBI data. India's urban population grew from 6.2 crore in 1951 to 37.71 crore in 2011. In 2021, the country's urban population stood at 49.31 crore, according to data collected by the UN Population Division. Urban population refers to people living in urban areas, calculated using World Bank population estimates and urban ratios from the UN World Urbanisation Prospects.

### Infant mortality

**4** The infant mortality rate (IMR) of Nagaland in 2018, the lowest among any State/U.T. in India, according to RBI data. Madhya Pradesh had the highest IMR (48) in 2018. India's IMR improved from 58 in 2004 to 31 in 2020. IMR is the number of infants dying before their first birthday, per 1,000 live births in a year. India's maternal mortality ratio (the number of women who died from pregnancy-related causes while pregnant or within 42 days of pregnancy termination per 100,000 live births) stood at 143 in 2017, according to World Bank data.

### Poverty rate

**33.7** In percentage, Bihar's poverty rate in 2011-12, the highest among any State/U.T. in the country. With a poverty rate of 5.1% in 2011-12, Goa was the State with the lowest share, followed by Kerala (7.1%). Andaman and Nicobar Islands had only a 1% poverty rate in 2011-12 and was the U.T with the lowest percentage of poor people. The poverty rate is the share of the population below the poverty line in a country based on the Lakdawala Methodology in 1993-94 and Tendulkar Methodology in 2011-12.

### Factories in India

**37,787** The number of factories in Tamil Nadu in 2017-18, the highest among any State/U.T. in India, according to RBI data. The State's figure stood at 21,053 in the early 2000s. Altogether, there were 2,37,684 factories in India by 2017-18, when compared to the 1,36,353 in the early 2000s. With 82 factories, Sikkim is the State with the least number of factories. Andaman and Nicobar Islands is the U.T with the least number of factories, decreasing from 21 in 2004-05 to 18 by 2017-18.

COMPILED BY THE HINDU DATA TEAM

**Step-by-step:** Workers under the the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act. • DEEPAK K. R.

LETTER & SPIRIT

# The spectrum of law-making in independent India

Coalition governments have shown greater allegiance to the constitutional promise than super-majority governments

## THE GIST

- The article looks at the history of legislation of various governments starting from Nehru. The initial years of independent India saw various institutional pieces of legislation. While Nehru dealt mainly with the aftermath of the Partition and organising of States into the Union, Shastri's brief tenure confronted acute national food insecurity.
- Indira Gandhi's tenure saw neo-socialist economic policies such as the nationalisation of mines, banks, and insurance companies. But her rule is primarily marked by her proclamation of Emergency and the passage of the 42nd Constitutional Amendment, suspending civil rights and elections.
- Current Prime Minister Narendra Modi's legislative philosophy in the first term had an overwhelming financial orientation. In his second term, there was a seriously authoritarian bent of mind. There was the dilution of Article 370 withdrawing the special constitutional status of Jammu and Kashmir, followed swiftly by the Citizenship (Amendment) Act.

KABEER SHRIVASTAVA

In India, Parliament is the supreme law-making body. With the exceptions of items reserved unto the people – by the virtue of Fundamental Rights – and items reserved unto the States by the virtue of the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution, Parliament can make laws on virtually any subject within India's territory, and, in exceptional cases, extra-territorially.

The Preamble lists the objectives of the Constitution to secure for all citizens justice, liberty, equality, and fraternity. Undeterred by India's deep-seated inequalities and factionalism before and at the time of Independence, the framers of the Constitution undertook a leap of faith and envisioned a liberal, more egalitarian nation-state in the post-colonial world.

### Building blocks of the Nehruvian years

The first government led by Jawaharlal Nehru inherited a copious body of constitutional, substantive, and procedural laws made between the early 1800s to 1947, and a trained bureaucracy to administer them. In his first term (1947-1952), Nehru met once-in-a-lifetime challenges of a newly-born country: the rehabilitation of Partition survivors and the administration of evacuee properties; assimilating princely states and the grant of privy purses; creating the statutory framework for the defence forces, the Reserve Bank of India as well as the Election Commission of India, and, finally, the initiation of land reforms.

After winning a handsome majority in independent India's first general election in 1952, Nehru presented more institutional pieces of legislation: inducting new States and reorganising them on linguistic grounds (1956-1962); reforming Hindu personal laws (1955, 1961); enacting an entire body of revenue and company codes (1956-1962); administration of food and public distribution (1962); enacting labour protection laws (1948-1952); creating institutes of public importance such as the University Grants Commission, the Life Insurance Corporation of India, the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre, the All India Institute of Medical Sciences and the Indian Institutes of Technology (1956, 1961); and, finally, extending English as the official language (1963).

Nehru's notable legislative failing was the staggering number of times that the Constitution was amended within his lifetime (16); creating the exceptions to free speech and enacting the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958, the two pieces of legislation that continue to be deeply contentious in its usage until this day.

Lal Bahadur Shastri's brief tenure, of 18 months, confronted acute national food insecurity. In response, he set in motion the institutional blocks of the Green and White Revolutions, enacted the Food Corporations Act and set up the National Dairy Development Board.

### Indira Gandhi's long shadow

Indira Gandhi continued Shastri's policies towards a food-secure India and legislated the Seeds Act 1966, the Insecticides Act 1968, and also created two agricultural universities in 1970. She deserves credit for substantial reform to criminal procedure (1973), landmark rights-based pieces of legislation such as decriminalising abortion (1971; two years before the U.S. Supreme Court legalised it), enhanced labour rights (1970, 1976) and wildlife and environment protection laws (1972-1981).

**V. P. Singh's singular policy legacy was the implementation of the Mandal Commission recommendations, and reserving additional seats in public employment for Other Backward Classes**

All the while, Mrs. Gandhi could not tame her authoritarian instincts and enacted the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act 1967 (or UAPA), the Maintenance of Internal Security Act 1971, and its economic adjunct, the Conservation of Foreign Exchange and Prevention of Smuggling Activities Act, 1974, all of which were grossly misused at the time; to this day, the UAPA continues to be weaponised. The most damning moment was the proclamation of Emergency and the passage of the 42nd Constitutional Amendment, suspending civil rights and elections.

Mrs. Gandhi's neo-socialist economic policies saw the nationalisation of mines, banks, and insurance companies (1969-1976), the abolition of privy purses of erstwhile rulers (1971), ceiling urban land holdings (1976) and restricting corporations from paying dividends (1974). Strictly speaking, most of these pieces of economic legislation did not grossly offend the Constitution, and the Supreme Court held them as such.

The foremost legislative task before the Morarji Desai government was to roll back the excesses committed under the Emergency with the enactment of the 44th Constitutional Amendment and restore civil liberties and judicial independence. It continued, in large measure, the predecessor's confiscatory economic policies, notably nationalising more industries and also the first exercise of demonetisation of currency notes in 1978. Indira Gandhi returned for a second stint in 1980 and in what can be described as a volte face of her economic philosophy, entered into the Indo-Mauritian Tax Treaty which became the largest source of foreign direct investment (FDI) to India for decades to come (about $140 billion between 2000-2020 alone). Extension of the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act (AFSPA) to quell the rising insurgency in Punjab was Mrs. Gandhi's last major parliamentary legislation; the conflict cost her her life in 1984.

### A super majority

Rajiv Gandhi's term in Parliament saw five critically contested issues. The legislative apathy toward the 1984 Sikh pogrom; the hastily drafted Bhopal Gas Tragedy (Processing of Claims) Act 1985; the undoing of the Supreme Court's judgment in *Shah Bano* giving maintenance rights to divorced Muslim women; insertion of anti-defection laws as the 10th Schedule to the Constitution (making elected representatives essentially subservient to party bosses), and, finally, sending the Indian Army to Sri Lanka, a conflict which led to Rajiv Gandhi's assassination.

His legislative legacy was saved with comprehensive codification of environment protection, juvenile justice, mental health, and consumer protection laws (1986-1987); the creation of a legal services authority to deliver the constitutional promise of free legal aid (1987); and easing of onerous labour laws (1988). Even while mired under allegations of corruption, Rajiv Gandhi, to his credit, enacted a comprehensive anti-corruption and benami prohibition law (both in 1988), which are in force until today.

V. P. Singh's singular policy legacy was the implementation of the Mandal Commission recommendations, and reserving additional seats in public employment for Other Backward Classes.

P.V. Narasimha Rao inherited a nation facing severe headwinds – from a balance of payment crisis to dangerous arousal of communal passions. Heading a minority government, his legislative response was reasonably sober: the Places of Worship (Special Provisions) Act, 1991 for maintenance of the religious character of places of worship; creation of the Securities and Exchanges Board of India (1992), introduction of a service tax regime (1994), and consolidating public sector enterprises. His social welfare laws were also laudable: the creation of a National Human Rights Commission (1993); prohibition of manual scavenging (1993); prohibition of pre-natal gender selection (1994), and protecting the rights of disabled persons (1995). Fulfilling Mahatma Gandhi's vision of local self-government, Narasimha Rao amended the Constitution to give legislative basis to Panchayati Raj and Urban Local Bodies.

Despite accolades, his greatest constitutional failure was lethargy in bringing the chieftains of the Babri Masjid's demolition, and the ensuing riots, to justice.

Atal Bihari Vajpayee's interventions were mainly economic in nature. Continuing with his predecessor's economic policies, he liberalised foreign exchange laws and created a new insurance regulator (both in 1999); revamped the intellectual property regime (1999, 2000); enacted a substantive information technology regime (1999), enabled a substantive anti-money law (2002) and created a fiscal responsibility and budget management protocol (2003). Two of his striking constitutional amendments were the insertion of Article 21A, guaranteeing free and compulsory education to children between the ages of six to 14; and implementing the recommendations of the Tenth Finance Commission (of pooling and sharing all taxes between the Union and States).

Like P.V. Narasimha Rao, A.B. Vajpayee's apathy towards riot victims (Godhra, 2002) remains his most glaring constitutional blot.

### A rights-based approach

Manmohan Singh's legislations reflect a rights-based approach to secure the egalitarian demands of democracy. Notable were the right to information; the right to employment (the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act); granting married Hindu women equal right in intestate succession of her parents; protection of women from domestic violence and senior citizens welfare (2005, 2007); operationalising free and compulsory education to children (2009); the setting up of the Unique Identification Authority of India (Aadhar) in 2009 and the National Green Tribunal (2010); and, finally, a comprehensive law protecting children from sexual offences (2012).

In response to the Mumbai terror attacks in 2008, Manmohan Singh created the National Investigation Agency that effectively cut into the powers of States to manage law and order. Earlier that year, global financial crises impacted India, followed by a global outcry against tax havens. The legislative response came between 2009-2012, with the execution of multiple tax information exchange treaties, and requiring residents (even if not permanently resident) to disclose their global assets in Indian tax returns.

In the penultimate year of his government's tenure – contrary to the charge of a "policy paralysis" – Manmohan Singh comprehensively reformed corporation laws, enacted a rights-based approach to food security and land acquisition; strengthened criminal laws to protect women from sexual crimes, and before leaving office, enacted the Lokpal and Lokayukta Act.

### On Modinomics

Like A. B. Vajpayee, Narendra Modi's legislative philosophy in the first term had an overwhelming financial orientation. Key among them was enacting the Black Money Act and the Commercial Courts Act (both in 2015); enacting a monetary policy committee to manage consumer inflation, demonetisation of currency notes and a new bankruptcy regime (all in 2016); an electoral bonds scheme; delivery of welfare schemes through Aadhar; adding teeth to benami prohibition law; enactment of a comprehensive Goods and Services Tax regime (all in 2017), and, finally, a fugitive economic offence act (2018). The exception to this theme was the 103rd Constitutional Amendment – reservation of 10% seats for Economically Weaker Sections in direct Union employment and education.

In Mr. Modi's second term, there was a seriously authoritarian bent of mind. There was the dilution of Article 370 withdrawing the special constitutional status of Jammu and Kashmir, followed swiftly by the Citizenship (Amendment) Act with the aim of excluding Muslims refugees from rights to fast-track citizenship. There was a crescendo with the agricultural "reforms" law, which was repealed after much protest and loss of life.

Contrary to the rhetoric that a majority government is more beneficial to secure our constitutional guarantees, India's legislative history (except for the Nehruvian era) indicates that coalition governments – on either side of the aisle – show greater allegiance to that cause. Of course, this is because coalitions make consultation mandatory. And in a nation of such immense diversity like ours, that's a beautiful thing.

*Kabeer Shrivastava is a Delhi-based advocate. He can be reached at kabeer.shrivastava@gmail.com*

FOLLOW US:
thehindu.com
facebook.com/thehindu
twitter.com/the_hindu
instagram.com/the_hindu

# THE HINDU

INDIA'S NATIONAL NEWSPAPER SINCE 1878

MONDAY, AUGUST 15, 2022

BENGALURU
CITY EDITION
Vol. 53 • No. 193
40 pages • ₹6.00

PRINTED AT · CHENNAI · COIMBATORE · BENGALURU · HYDERABAD · MADURAI · NOIDA · VISAKHAPATNAM · THIRUVANANTHAPURAM · KOCHI · VIJAYAWADA · MANGALURU · TIRUCHIRAPALLI · KOLKATA · HUBBALLI · MOHALI · MALAPPURAM · MUMBAI · TIRUPATI · LUCKNOW · CUTTACK · PATNA

FIDE ET LABORE
ST JOSEPH'S UNIVERSITY

ST JOSEPH'S UNIVERSITY

FORMING MEN AND WOMEN FOR AND WITH OTHERS

आज़ादी का अमृत महोत्सव

ST JOSEPH'S UNIVERSITY

WISHES ALL FELLOW INDIANS

A VERY HAPPY
75TH INDEPENDENCE DAY.

Saluting those who bled for our motherland
In whose sacrifice, today, free we stand,
We vow to fly the tricolour high, and honour this freedom that turns 75
Not in an individual or a community, but in our diversity lies our beauty
Brighter than a diamond, may our nation shine, jubilee after jubilee
Glorious 75th Independence Day to our beloved India, from St Joseph's University !

UNDERGRADUATE COURSES

BSc - Statistics, Computer Science
BSc - Statistics, Mathematics
BSc - Physics, Mathematics
BSc - Mathematics, Computer Science
BSc - Economics, Statistics
BSc - Electronics, Computer Science
BSc - Physics, Chemistry
BSc - Biochemistry, Botany
BSc - Biochemistry, Zoology
BSc - Biotechnology, Biochemistry
BSc - Microbiology, Biochemistry
BSc - Botany, Zoology
BSc - Chemistry, Zoology
BSc - Chemistry, Botany
BSc - Chemistry, Biotechnology
BSc - Chemistry, Microbiology
BSc - Chemistry, Environmental Science
BSc - Environmental Science, Biology
BSc - Biology, Microbiology
BSc - Biology, Biotechnology

BA - Psychology, Optional English
BA - Psychology, Theatre and Performance Studies
BA - Economics, Industrial Relations
BA - Economics, Sociology
BA - History, Sociology
BA - Journalism, International Relations and Peace Studies
BA - Journalism, Public Policy
BA - Political Science, Communicative English
BA - Economics, Political Science
BA - Political Science, History
BA - Psychology, Journalism
BA - Economics, History
BA - Journalism, Sociology
BA - Visual Communication

BVoc - Visual Media and Film-Making
BVoc - Digital Media and Animation

BSW
BCA
BCA - Data Analytics

BCom
BCom - Industry Integrated
BCom - IFA (ACCA Integrated)

BBA
BBA - Strategic Finance

PhD Programmes

PhD - Botany
PhD - Chemistry
PhD - English
PhD - Physics

POSTGRADUATE COURSES

MA - Advertising and Public Relations
MA - Mass Communication and Journalism
MA - Political Science
MA - Economics
MA - English
MSc - Organic Chemistry
MSc - Physics
MSc - Statistics
MSc - Biotechnology
MSc - Analytical Chemistry
MSc - Mathematics
MSc - Food Science and Technology
MSc - Computer Science
MSc - Big Data Analytics
MSc - Microbiology
MSc - Botany
MSc - Counselling Psychology
MSc - Environmental Science and Sustainability
MSc - Zoology
MCom
MSW - Medical and Psychiatry
MSW - HR
MSW - CD

University office: 080 2227 4079, 080 2221 1429, 7676759199
For admission queries: admission@sjc.ac.in
P.B. 27094, #36, Lalbagh Road, Bengaluru, Karnataka 560027

# City's street vendors to be trained by BBMP and FSSAI on cleanliness and food safety

## Initiative to be implemented zone-wise; vendors will have to receive certification

STAFF REPORTER
BENGALURU

Street vendors in the city have to undergo a training programme organised by the BBMP and the Food Safety and Standards Authority of India (FSSAI) to promote safe and clean street food.

According to BBMP officials, street vendors have to undergo mandatory training and receive certification for the same. The initiative will be implemented zone wise. The BBMP said the initiative will be launched once the survey of street vendors is completed in all the zones of Bengaluru.

Muralidhar K., Deputy Commissioner (Welfare), told *The Hindu*, "The initiative is being taken up as per the new guidelines of the Deendayal Antyodaya Yojana - National Urban Livelihoods Mission (DAY-NULM) where an FSSAI team will train street vendors on the safe parameters to be followed while preparing food. Those without the FSSAI certification will not be allowed to vend."

"The vendors will be given extensive training, which includes how to tie up with online food ordering and delivery platforms like Swiggy and Zomato. This increases their presence. Customers can rate and review them on the app so people will know which street vendors provide safe and clean food," Mr Muralidhar K. explained.

BBMP officials said that the survey of street food vendors has already begun in a few zones in Bengaluru.

S. Babu, president of Bengaluru Urban District Street Vendors' Federation, said that while the conditions under FSSAI are stringent for street food vendors, it is a good move as it is in the interest of public health.

**Timings**
**BENGALURU**

| | |
|---|---|
| **MONDAY, AUG. 15** | |
| RISE 06:07 | SET 18:41 |
| RISE 21:28 | SET 09:03 |
| **TUESDAY, AUG. 16** | |
| RISE 06:07 | SET 18:40 |
| RISE 22:07 | SET 09:56 |
| **WEDNESDAY, AUG. 17** | |
| RISE 06:08 | SET 18:40 |
| RISE 22:47 | SET 10:46 |

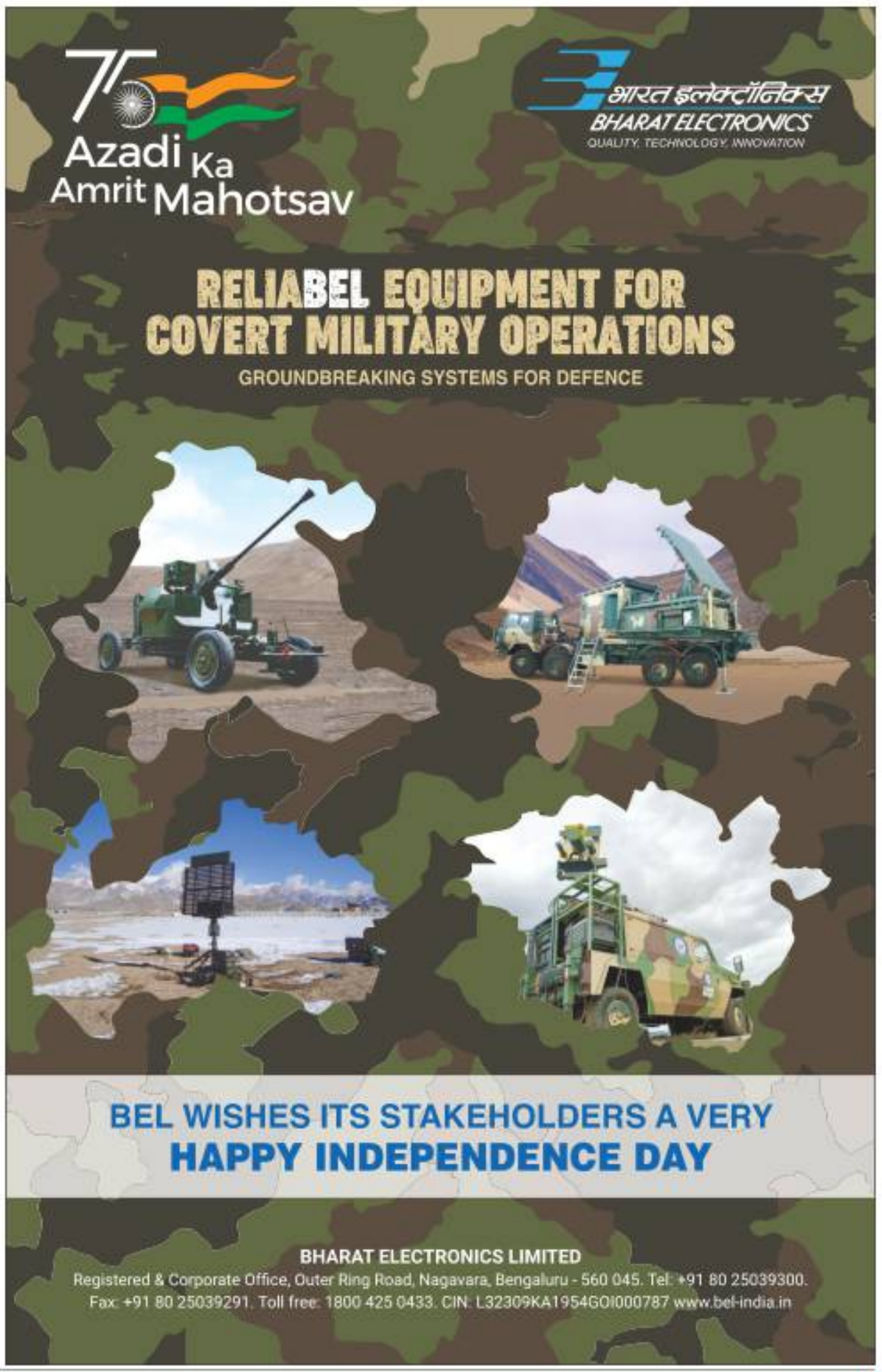
| Bengaluru Weather | max | min |
|---|---|---|
| Tumakuru | 31 | 23 |
| Mysuru | 30 | 20 |
| Bengaluru | 28 | 20 |

**Bengaluru Today**
**28°C** The weather will be comfortable but humid. Night will be pleasant. Short spell of light rain or thundershower is a chance at few places.

**Bengaluru Tomorrow**
**29°C** The weather will be mostly dry Day will be slight wrm and humid. Night will be pleasant.

© Copyright Skymet Weather 2019
All rights reserved.

THE HINDU
DISCLAIMER: Readers are requested to verify and make appropriate enquiries to satisfy themselves about the veracity of an advertisement before responding to any published in this newspaper. THG PUBLISHING PVT LTD., the Publisher & Owner of this newspaper, does not vouch for the authenticity of any advertisement or advertiser or for any of the advertiser's products and/or services. In no event can the Owner, Publisher, Printer, Editor, Directors, Employees of this newspaper/company be held responsible/liable in any manner whatsoever for any claims and/or damages for advertisements in this newspaper.



Published by N. Ravi at Kasturi Buildings, 859 & 860, Anna Salai, Chennai-600002 and Printed by C. Sridhar at Plot No. 13-D, Bommasandra-Jigani Link Road, KIADB Industrial Area, Bommasandra, Anekal Taluk, Bengaluru-560099 on behalf of THG PUBLISHING PVT LTD., Chennai-600002. Editor: Suresh Nambath (Responsible for selection of news under the PRB Act).
RN No. KAREMG/2020/79945 • ISSN 0971 - 751X

# Re-engineering the development state

## What India needs to do to reverse economic deceleration and growing inequity in a changing global order

**R. Nagaraj**
*is with the Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram*

**The clarion call of self-reliance seems a far cry, with India decidedly moving toward a dependent development model, amidst a sharp rise in economic inequalities**

Since Independence, India's economic growth has steadily accelerated, albeit from a low level, with moderating inflation rate. That was until about a decade ago. Breaking free from the colonial stagnation, domestic output (GDP) grew annually at around three-and-a-half per cent during the first three decades – pejoratively called the "Hindu growth rate". The annual growth increased to about five-and-a-half per cent in the next two decades and 7%-8 % during the 2010s. As the population growth rate declined annually, from over 2% in the 1960s to around one-a-half pre cent, income per head raised even further, reducing absolute poverty. With a moderate balance-of-payment deficit and modest share of external debt to total debt, as ratios of GDP, India – at first glance – witnessed "virtuous growth" in deepening democracy.

### Inequitable growth

Not everyone, though, is convinced of such a positive story. The recent growth accelerations are reportedly predatory, snatching away meagre land and livelihood of the marginalised in the poorest States and the socially vulnerable, by plundering natural resources with the active connivance of state power. The growth is thus highly inequitable: many rich Indians joined the Forbes list of global billionaires due to the rise of crony capitalism, giving rise to the term 'Billionaire Raj'. India has moved from a moderately unequal country to one with extreme inequality (joining the Latin American league). Yet, invoking Kuznets' hypothesis, optimists may argue that India has a fighting chance to escape the extremes of wealth and deprivation to forge inclusive growth – with rapid growth providing tax revenue for social development.

However, the decade-long output deceleration in the 2010s with an unprecedented fall in the investment rate has put a question mark on the growth story (*Figure 1*). Expectedly, output slow-down (excluding the novel coronavirus pandemic years) has raised unemployment and poverty rates. Employment share in manufacturing declined last decade. The faulty gauges of official statistics have muddied the aggregate economic picture. But, undoubtedly, India seems to have veered away from the accelerating growth path. With declining investment rates, the economy is staring at deindustrialisation (in terms of output) with rising imports: from edible oil to industrial and electronic machinery (*Figure 2*). Not to mention the extreme long-term dependence on imported energy, with solar energy investment making modest headway.

Around 1990, India was "over-industrialised", with the manufacturing sector's GDP share above countries with similar income levels. India's import dependence was the least, excluding Eastern Europe and Russia. Three decades on, manufacturing is now under-sized, with the share of capital goods in industrial output shrinking from 20% in 1980-81 to 8.22% in 2011-12. The ratio for China, which was roughly comparable in the 1980s, has doubled to 30% during the same period. No wonder India has turned import dependent on China. The dependence amplified during the COVID-19 pandemic when China imposed export restrictions, compelling the Prime Minister to announce Atmanirbhar Bharat Abhiyan (or initiative) to reduce import dependence.

The planning era until the early 1990s, and the market-friendly policy regime after that, following the precepts of the "Washington Consensus" (operating for roughly equal lengths of time), have shaped the long-term outcomes. The policy regimes had their political underpinnings in their respective times. However, with China's assertive rise based on its economic strengths, renewed global dependence on (the old and new) natural resources, and the ongoing European war in Ukraine, the unalloyed faith in the virtues of free trade and capital flows is now in question.

Closer home, while China and India followed market-friendly policies, China never lost sight of strategic planning to acquire global economic leadership. Both countries were at roughly similar levels of industrialisation when they opened up to international trade and finance over three decades ago. China is now the top industrial nation, contributing nearly a quarter of global manufacturing output, while India languishes at fifth position contributing just about 3%. Their recent border skirmishes have laid bare India's vulnerability to importing China's industrial raw materials; mobile phones and capital for the start-up industry have exposed India's dependent status.

### Review economic strategy

After a decade-long output slow-down, deindustrialisation and waning of globalisation (as we knew it), India needs to re-assess its economic strategy. It may need to re-set the economic boundaries of the state and market or reimagine state-led industrialisation. Such reconsideration need not invite criticism of dirigisme or state capitalism of the yore but perhaps should be an opportunity for a more creative combination of government and private initiatives, based on recent global experience.

Consider the success of the U.S.'s "Operation Warp Speed" to develop and manufacture COVID-19 vaccines. Or the ongoing aggressive U.S. drive to reduce import dependence for semiconductor chips with massive state financial support. These illustrate mobilising national efforts under changing political contexts to insulate national economies from the vagaries of global politics.

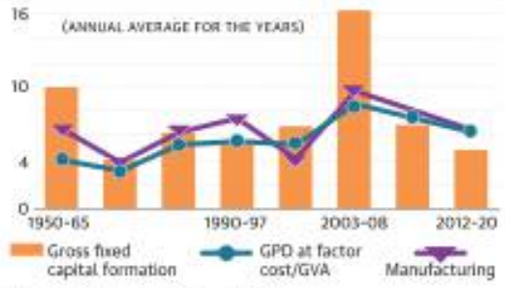
After Independence, India stood out for its steady growth acceleration (along with China) – albeit from a low level. It abolished the colonial scourge of famines and reduced absolute poverty – in deepening democracy (however faulty) and maintaining territorial integrity in a multi-class/caste/ religion sub-continental country. During the last decade, however, the growth story has come off the rails with decelerating GDP, rising unemployment and poverty levels. This observation holds ignoring the devastating COVID-19 pandemic. The clarion call of self-reliance (Atmanirbhar Bharat) seems a far cry, with India decidedly moving toward a dependent development model, amidst a sharp rise in economic inequalities. In the 75th year of Independence, it is perhaps time to call out for honest soul searching to put the growth story back on the rails, setting aside political and ideological differences. The answer to an economic slow-down may lie in re-balancing the roles of the state and market in economic decision-making over the next quarter century – in line with current global practices, boldly facing emerging realities.

*The views expressed are personal*

## Worrying decline

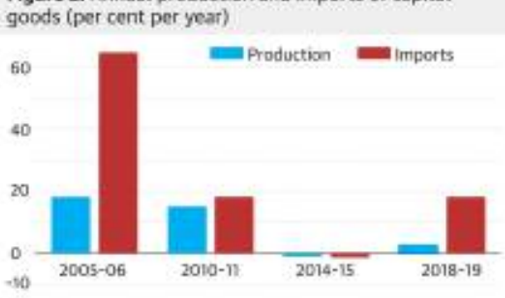
Investment in the economy, measured as "Gross fixed capital formation" took a steep fall in the last decade, as has production of capital goods in recent years

**Figure 1:** GDP, manufacturing output and fixed investment growth rates, 1950-2020




*Notes: GVA – Gross Value added.*

**Figure 2:** Annual production and imports of capital goods (per cent per year)




*Note: Production data is based on Index of industrial production; imports data is based on imports of machine tools, machinery, transport equipment and project imports*

*Source: Rakesh Mohan, 'A third-generation strategy for accelerated growth and development in India'*

The bold and muscular Seltos now comes with first-in-segment 6 Airbags as standard across all variants, which lets you go out and find inspiration without any worries. Now more badass than ever.

**6 Airbags as Standard with Robust Hi-safety Package**

6 Airbags*, ESC (Electronic Stability Control), VSM (Vehicle Stability Management), BAS (Brake Assist), HAC (Hill-start Assist Control), ESS (Emergency Stop Signal), ABS (Anti-lock Brake System), All Wheel Disc Brakes, Highline Tyre Pressure Monitoring System and Rear Parking Sensors

**New-age Intelligent Manual Transmission (iMT) in Diesel**

Allows you to enjoy the ease of driving with a clutch-free+ manual transmission

**Powerful Smartstream 1.4/ T - GDi Petrol Engine**

Get boundless power with the refined 1.4/ Smartstream petrol engine

**26.03 cm (10.25") Advanced HD Touchscreen Navigation**

Makes the cabin look plush and futuristic while keeping you connected

**BOSE Premium 8-Speaker Sound System**

Set your mood right for every drive with a treat for your ears

**Other Inspiring Features:** Smart Pure Air Purifier with Virus and Bacteria Protection* | 360° Camera with Blind View Monitor | Smart 20.32 cm (8.0") Head-up Display | Ventilated Front Seats | Kia Connect with more than 58 Smart Features

**Best time to own the Badass is now**

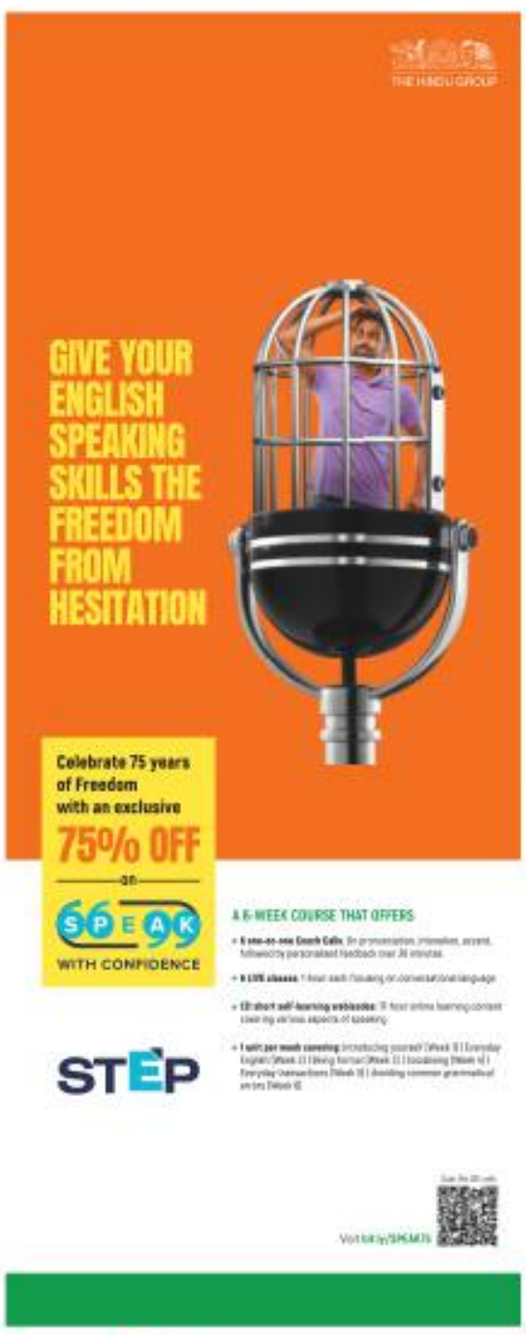
| Up to 100% On-road Finance | Long EMI Tenure** | Flexible EMI Options** | Last EMI Refund** | EMI Protect Plan** | Passenger Safety Cover** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nil processing charges** | Up to 96 months | Starting from ₹ 767 (Per Lakh/ Month) | For customers with excellent re-payment history | Reimbursement of up to 2 EMIs | Accidental assistance of up to ₹ 1 00 000 for occupants |

| Kia Service | 3 Years/ Unlimited kms Warranty | 24x7 \| 3 Years Nationwide RSA^ | IoT Based Smart Services | Extended Warranty up to 5 Years | My Convenience Customised Maintenance Program |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|

**For more information contact:** 1800 108 5000 | 09319591407 | Visit www.kia.com/in | Kia Seltos | Look for "Kia India"

T&C Apply. The product shown is for representation purpose only, actual features, colors and specifications as shown may not be part of standard fitment and may vary. Visit your nearest Kia dealership for more details. ^As a standard feature in segment defined as Mid SUV whose length lies between 4 260 – 4 390 mm and width between 1 775 – 1 825 mm. **RSA Coverage across India except Andaman & Nicobar Islands and Lakshadweep. Kia Connect functionality is dependent on mobile network strength. *The tests of protection from Virus & Bacteria are conducted with a defined process, under particular circumstances in a controlled environment and the results may vary. ^2 Front, 2 Side and 2 Curtain Airbags. +Vehicle operates with sensor based electric-clutch system instead of mechanically wired-clutch system. **T&C of all finance schemes will depend on financier's applicable terms and conditions. Finance is at the sole discretion of the financing partner without any obligation to Kia India Pvt. Ltd. **Processing charges scheme is available through SBI Bank car loans only. Kia India Pvt. Ltd. (Formerly known as Kia Motors India Pvt. Ltd.) reserves the right to make any changes with respect to the trims, colors, specifications and other details of any model as mentioned or to discontinue any model or to modify/discontinue any service without prior notice. Kia urges you to follow traffic rules, these are meant to keep you safe on roads. No liability accepted for errors and printing errors.

INNOCEAN-008/22



# BJP
## Ray of Hope in Independent India

### India Shining - Shri Vajapayee Govt.

- Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee became the Prime Minister when NDA came to power in 1998.
- **Sarva Shiksha Campaign** was implemented during his term, which made education a fundamental right for children aged between 6 and 14.
- **The New Telecom Policy,** formulated during his term, revolutionized India's telecom sector.
- **The Golden Quadrilateral Road Project,** which connected four Metros, gave further thrust to India's development.
- **The river-linking project,** envisaged to address the drought situation in the country, was one of Vajpayee's dream projects.

### A New Era of Development under Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi

- Shri Narendra Modi became the Prime Minister in 2014. During his term, many revolutionary transformations have taken place in the country.
- **By abolishing Article 370,** Shri Modi took a bold decision to resolve the Kashmir impasse. **Foundation stone has been laid for the New Ram Temple in Ayodhya.**
- With the implementation of **GST,** Indian economy has received a significant fillip. The handling of the Covid-19 epidemic in India received praise from WHO and world leaders.
- Schemes such as **PM Gareeb Kalyan Anna Yojan, PM Kisan Samman Scheme and PM Awas Yojana,** which benefit the farmers, labourers, and the poor, have been launched and implemented.
- **Ayushman Bharat PM Jan Arogya Yojana** has been implemented to make quality health care services accessible to the poor.
- Under NDA rule and Shri Modi's leadership, India is striding towards a bright future.

### Promising steps towards a great future

In Karnataka, Shri Basavaraj Bommai-led Govt. has given significant thrust to welfare measures and comprehensive development of the state with the goal of building a prosperous Karnataka for the development of all.

#### Amritha Schemes

- Implementation of Amritha Schemes for various development programmes as part of India's 75th Independence Day celebrations

#### Vidyanidhi Scheme for farmers and poor

- Raitha Vidyanidhi Scheme: Rs.439.95 crore worth of scholarships distributed to 10.03 lakh children of farmers. The scheme has been extended to the children of fishermen, yellow board taxi drivers and weavers.

#### Swami Vivekananda Yuva Shakti Yojane

- Constitution of 27,395 "Swami Vivekananda SHGs @ 1 SHG per GP to encourage the rural youth to take up self-employment and economic activities. Goal to provide skill training to 65 lakh rural youth.

#### Focus on welfare of SC/ST

- Rs.28,234 crore allocated under SCSP/TSP projects
- Rs.580.19 crore grants and additional grants of Rs.410 crore for SC/ST Corporations. Total Rs.990.19 crore
- Rs.572.18 crore scholarships for SC/ST students
- Free electricity to poor SC/ST families raised from 45 units to 75 units. To benefit 39.25 Lakh families.

#### Fisheries-Dairy Farming-Sericulture

- 'Matsya Siri' Scheme to improve the income of fishermen. Under this scheme, 100 deep sea shipping vessels will be introduced in the State.
- To establish Ksheerasmruddhi Cooperative Bank for the benefit of milk producers
- Incentive increased by Rs.50 for every kg of bivoltine cocoons

#### Regional Balance

- Grants for the development of Kalyana Karnataka doubled.
- Rs. 3,000 crore allocated.

#### Stree Samarthya

- To further enhance business activity in SHGs, Rs. 500 crore community capital corpus released to 33,333 SHGs @ Rs.1.5 lakh per SHG. To benefit 3.9 lakh women.

#### Priority for education

- Karnataka - the first State to implement National Education Policy 2020
- Seven Govt. Engineering Colleges of the State upgraded as Karnataka Institute of Technology (KIT)
- Historical step taken to build 8101 classrooms at a cost of Rs.1,412 crore

#### Karnataka No. 1 in FDI

- MoUs for 1.31 lakh crore worth of investment signed at the World Economic Forum held in Davos and later

76th Independence Day Greetings to all the citizens of the State

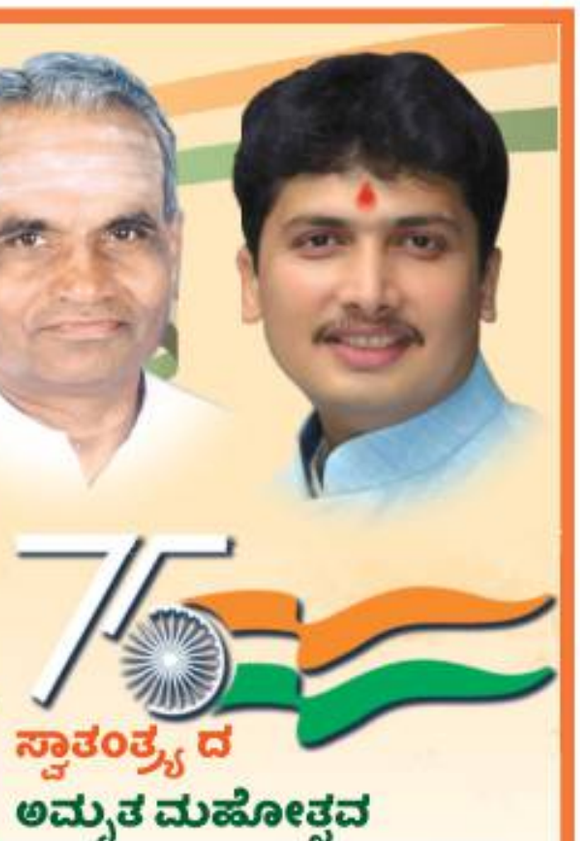
BJP - KARNATAKA

ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ಸರ್ಕಾರ

## ಕಲ್ಯಾಣ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ಪ್ರದೇಶ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಮಂಡಳಿ, ಕಲಬುರಗಿ

ನಾಡಿನ ಸಮಸ್ತ ಜನತೆಗೆ

## ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯ ದಿನಾಚರಣೆ ಅಮೃತ ಮಹೋತ್ಸವದ ಹಾರ್ದಿಕ ಶುಭಾಶಯಗಳು



ಪ್ರಪ್ರಥಮ ಬಾರಿಗೆ ಮಂಡಳಿಗೆ ರೂ. 3000 ಕೋಟಿ ಅನುದಾನ ನೀಡಿದ ನಮ್ಮ ಸರಕಾರ ಹೆಮ್ಮೆಯ ಸರಕಾರ

ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯ ದ ಅಮೃತ ಮಹೋತ್ಸವ

# Four held for pulling down Tipu's cutout

## One of the accused says Tipu Sultan was not a freedom fighter

STAFF REPORTER
BENGALURU

A group of miscreants pulled down cutout of Tipu Sultan put up by Karnataka Pradesh Congress Committee (KPCC) as part of a series of cutouts of several freedom fighters across the city to mark the party's padayatra to mark the 75th Independence Day on Monday. Self-styled Hindutva activist Puneeth Kerehalli, who has floated an outfit called Rashtra Rakshana Pade, turned up with a band of his followers at K. R. Circle and Hudson Circle on Saturday late night and pulled down the cutout of Tipu Sultan.

He also broadcast it live on social media platforms, where he expressed outrage over considering Tipu Sultan as a freedom fighter.

However, he said they should instead put up cutouts of Kittur Rani Chennamma and Sangolli Rayanna, which were also among the series of cutouts adorning the street sides.

KPCC president D. K. Shivakumar and Bengaluru Rural MP D. K. Suresh condemned the incident and demanded legal action against the miscreants. "Tipu Summer Palace in the city, which is maintained by the Archaeology Department of the Union Government, has been decorated and honoured Tipu Sultan's contribution to the freedom struggle. Despite that, such instances are allowed to happen in the presence of police officials," Mr. Shivakumar lamented.

The Halasuru Gate police have registered a case and arrested four persons, including Puneeth Kerehalli. However, before his arrest, a defiant Kerehalli defended his action and said that Tipu Sultan was not a freedom fighter, and his act was to avenge objections raised to the photograph of V. D. Savarkar at a mall in Shivamogga on Saturday.

# 75 E-buses hit the city roads

## These have been inducted under FAME-2 scheme on gross cost contract basis

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT
BENGALURU

The Bengaluru Metropolitan Transport Corporation (BMTC), which is celebrating its silver jubilee, introduced 75 e-buses on Sunday. The buses are inducted under FAME-2 scheme on gross cost contract basis. A total of 300 buses will be inducted under the scheme. The BMTC has branded the new service as "Astra".

The newly launched BMTC e-bus in Bengaluru on Sunday. •K. MURALI KUMAR

**fact sheet**

- The 12-metre no-AC electric buses have 40 seating capacity
- For the first time, the corporation is running buses with wheelchair ramp
- Other features of the bus include vehicular tracking system, CCTV, LED route display, and others

In the first phase, 75 buses are being operated from Yelahanka depot. Routes such as Majestic to Vidyaranayapura, Shivajinagar to Yelahanka, Yelahanka to Majestic, and others have been identified to run the buses.

The 12-metre no-AC electric buses have 40 seating capacity. For the first time, the corporation is running buses with wheelchair ramp. Other features of the bus include vehicular tracking system, CCTV, LED route display, and others. Under the scheme, each bus has received a subsidy of ₹55 lakh per bus from the centre and the State government has given ₹33.33 lakh. Switch Mobility Automotive Limited, a subsidiary of Ashok Leyland, will operate the buses for a period of 12 years. The BMTC will pay an operational cost of ₹49 per km for operating the bus for 225 km per day that includes electricity charges.

In the future, the rest of the e-buses will be operated from Yeshwantpur, Kengeri depots and from Central Silk Board bus stand.

## Free bus service today

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT
BENGALURU

The BMTC, which is celebrating its silver jubilee, is providing free bus services on Monday. The public can travel in all types of buses without buying a ticket. The corporation will run buses as per schedule on all the routes, including AC buses to Kempegowda International Airport. BMTC Director (IT) Surya Sen A.V. said,

# BMTC to lease 921 e-buses under Grand Challenge

## CM says vehicle numbers will outnumber humans in 3.5 years

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT
BENGALURU

The State government has given approval to the Bengaluru Metropolitan Transport Corporation (BMTC) to lease 921 electric buses (e-buses) under the 'Grand Challenge' initiative of the Union government.

The BMTC had applied for leasing 1500 e-buses and Convergence Energy Services Limited (CESL), a public sector undertaking under the Ministry of Power, has given approval for leasing 921 buses.

On Sunday, while addressing a gathering on the occasion of launching the new e-bus services in the city, Chief Minister Basavaraj Bommai said that the State government has given its approval for the corporation to lease the e-buses. Each bus will get a subsidy of ₹39 lakh per bus and the corporation has to bear the operational cost of ₹41 per km to the operator.

The new buses are likely to hit the road next year. The corporation will receive support from the State government for induction of 840 BSVI diesel buses in the coming days.

In his speech, the Chief Minister said that in three-and-a-half years, the vehicle numbers in the city will outnumber the human population. He said that the city is growing at a fast rate, and more than 1.25 crore people are living in the city and new vehicles are hitting roads in thousands every day. Vehicle numbers have already crossed over 1.04 crore. He said that in order to give impetus to the public transport system, the State government will come out with a comprehensive mobility plan to address issues of commuting by involving all the government agencies concerned.

## READER'S MAIL

**Railway timetable**

Sir, – A few days back, there was an announcement that all services provided in the pre-pandemic regime will be resumed by the Railways. This is heartening news. However, a number of new trains have been announced and a handful of them have been suspended since July 2017. Because of COVID-19 for almost three years, the trains are running without a regular time table. In view of the big gap between 2017 and 2022, the public is totally in the dark about the railway timings. Ever since the Railway Budget was combined with General Budget, no announcements are made by the Railways. Hence it would be very ideal that Railways introduces a fresh set of time tables to help people plan their travel by both express and passenger trains. Can we expect the Railways comes out with new timetables of all divisions and zone-wise services?

A. RAJAGOPAL,
Bengaluru

**Readers can email to letters.bangalore@thehindu.co.in**

# Man feared drowned in Ghataprabha

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT
BELAGAVI

A man was feared drowned in the Ghataprabha in Chikkalgundi village of Bagalkot district on Sunday.

The family members of 38-year-old Basappa Hirkanavar have lodged a complaint with the police stating that he went missing on Saturday evening.

They suspected that he may have been devoured by crocodiles in the river. He had gone to the riverbed to remove the irrigation pumpset that was fixed to the ground.

Meanwhile, officers increased the outflow from Almatti reservoir to reduce the pressure on the backwaters. The water levels in the Krishna and its tributaries are stable, despite the reduced rainfall in the catchment areas.

**PUBLIC NOTICE**

This is to notify for the general information of public that, one **Smt. Renuka Devi W/o Late Prabhakar Reddy** has purchased the Schedule Property from **Smt.Aruna R.N. Punja W/o Rama Mohan Punja** vide Registered Document No. 32077/2003-04, dated 13-02-2004, registered in the office of SRO Kengeri and she has conveyed the Schedule Property in favour of **Vijaya kumar .K. S/o Krishnappa A.**, R/o #1242, 8th Cross, 4th Main near SBI Bank Chandra Layout Bangalore North Taluk-560040 and handed over all the documents pertaining to the schedule property. Vijaya kumar .K., has been lost Sale Deed Document 32077/2003-04, dated 13-02-2004, and it was misplaced in his home, after due search of the said document he could not found the same, for which he has lodged Police complaint on **04-08-2022**, before jurisdictional **Police Station**, Bangalore and the said police authority has issued acknowledgement for the same vide Lost Report No. 0285468/2022.

Any person or Group of Persons or Institutions having find or any Right Title, interest Charge, Lien and minor claims whatsoever over the schedule property may lodge his/her and their/its claim to the undersigned with documentary proof within period of **15 days** from the date of this publication failing which it will be presumed that here are no objections/Claims, disputes in respect of the schedule property.

**SCHEDULE PROPERTY:**

All that piece and parcel of the Property being the residential converted **site No. 11**, measuring East to West 40ft., North to South 60ft., total measuring 2400sft., Khatha No.1324, carved out of Sy No. 24, vide conversion order No. (L Dis. ALN/SR(S) 141/1998-97, dated 10-10-1998, situated at **Mylasandra Village Kengeri Hobli, Bangalore South Taluk** presently under the Administrative Jurisdiction of Rajarajeshwarinagar Municipal Council, Bangalore and including all Civic amenities and bounded on the:

**East by** :- Site No.10,
**West by** :- Site No.12,
**North by** :- Private Property,
**South by** :- Road,

**SHESHAPPAGOUDA PATIL**, Advocate
R.R. Nagar, Bangalore-560098.
Mobile No. : 9480117041.

**ANNEXURE -10**
**POSSESSION NOTICE [SECTION13(4)]**
**(For Immovable property)**

**Whereas:-**

The undersigned being the Authorised Officer of the Canara Bank under Securitisation And Reconstruction of Financial Assests and Enforcement of Security Interest Act, 2002 (Act 54 of 2002) (hereinafter referred to as "the Act") and in exercise of powers conferred under Section 13(12) read with Rule 3 of the Security Interest (Enforcement) Rules 2002, issued a **Demand Notice dated 21.12.2021** calling upon the borrowers **1). Sri. G.S. Ananda Ramu, S/o. Sri .G.N. Srinivasa Setty 2). GS Subbaraju Guptha, S/o. Sri. G.N. Srinivasa Setty residents of Yalanadu** to repay the amount mentioned in the notice, being **Rs.14,53,890.62 ( Rupees Fourteen Lakh Fifty Three Thousand Eight Hundred Ninty and Paise Sixty Two Only)** with further interest rate 8.80% p.a compounded at monthly rests from 20.12.2021, Within 60 days from the date of receipt of the said notice.

The borrower having failed to repay the amount, notice is hereby given to the borrower and the public in general that the undersigned has taken possession of the property described herein below, in exercise of powers conferred on him/her under section 13(4) of the said Act, read with Rule 8 & 9 of the said Rule on this 12th AUG 2022.

The borrower in particular and the public in general are hereby cautioned, not to deal with the property and any dealings with the property will be subject to the charge of Canara Bank for an amount of Rs.14,53,890.62 ( Rupees Fourteen Lakh Fifty Three Thousand Eight Hundred Ninty and Paise Sixty Two Only) as on 20.12.2021 and interest thereon.

The borrower's attention is invited to the provisions of Section 13(8) of the Act, in respect of time available, to redeem the secured assets.

**Description of the Immovable Property**

All that part and parcel of the property consisting of Asst. No.271/347, in Yalanadu, Huliyar Hobli, C.N.Hally Taluk, Tumkur District, Extent: East to west: 49 feet and North to South: 25 feet

Bounded by:

**East:** Lingarajappa's House, **West:** Gali and Gangadharaiah's House, **North:** Own Property, **South:** Guru Sidda Rameswara Samithi's Property

**DATE: 12.08.2022**
**PLACE: HULIYAR**

**Authorised Officer**
**Sd/- CANARA BANK**

India's No.1 Dealer
VASANTH & CO
QUALITY • TRUST
VASANTH & CO.

Independence Day Wishes

75th Independence Day Special Offer
Just Pay ₹55 Only
and Take Home 55" (139.7 cm) LED TV*
Balance in Easy EMI

Just Pay ₹65 Only
and Take Home 65" (165.1 cm) LED TV*
Balance in Easy EMI

75th Independence Day Special Offer
Just Pay ₹75 Only
and Take Home 75" (190.5 cm) LED TV*
Balance in Easy EMI

Just Pay ₹85 Only
and Take Home 85" (215.9 cm) LED TV*
Balance in Easy EMI

75th Independence Day Celebration!
DISCOUNT SALE
5% ADDITIONAL DISCOUNT*
Army, Navy, Air Force, Police, Doctor & Nurse personnel
(Please bring your ID Card)

SMART PHONES & LAPTOPS @ LOWEST PRICE

Bluetooth Headset + Power Bank 10000 mAh + Wired Headphone FREE
for purchase of Smart Phone above ₹ 15000

Smart Watch Just Pay ₹999 only
for purchase of Smart Phone above ₹ 20000

HP i3 / 11th Gen / 8GB / 512 SSD EMI ₹2817 Price ₹42999

RedmiBook 15 i3 / 11th Gen / 8GB / 256GB SSD / UHD Graphics Price ₹31990

DELL i3 / 11th Gen / 8GB / 512 SSD EMI ₹2947 Price ₹44200

FREE Neo Buds + Power Bank + Neck Band
for purchase of Smart Phone above ₹ 30000

vivo V23 E EMI ₹1666 Price ₹24990
vivo Y75 (5G) EMI ₹1466 Price ₹20999
OPPO Reno8 EMI ₹2500 Price ₹29999
OPPO F21 Pro EMI ₹1917 Price ₹22999
iPhone 13 upto ₹5,000* Instant Discount FREE Apple USB-C Power Adapter 20W Worth ₹1,900*
Redmi K50i 5G
MI K50 i EMI ₹2167 Price ₹25999
SAMSUNG A23 EMI ₹1542 Price ₹18500

32" (81.28 cm) LED TV
53% OFF Vasanth Price ₹8975
Price ₹18990 EMI ₹749

65" (165.1 cm) UHD 4K Android Smart TV
53% OFF 3 Yrs Warranty Vasanth Price ₹56975
Price ₹119990 EMI ₹4749

256 Ltr Bottom Mounted Refrigerator
42% OFF Vasanth Price ₹26975
EMI ₹2022 Price ₹46500

7.5 Kg Fully Automatic Top Loading Washing Machine
31% OFF Vasanth Price ₹19975
EMI ₹1666 Price ₹28990

50% OFF
Mixie + Induction Stove + Rice Cooker + Chopper + Pressure Cooker + Nonstick 3pcs Set + Flask + Kettle
Vasanth Price ₹8475
Save ₹8524 Price ₹16999

Water Heater @ Lowest Price
10 Ltr Water Heater Vasanth Price ₹5675 Price ₹10000
15 Ltr Water Heater Vasanth Price ₹6175 Price ₹11000

Pressure Cooker + SS Hot Box + Iron Box
Vasanth Price ₹1947
Price ₹3564 Save ₹1617

Butterfly Induction Stove + Rice Box
Price ₹3245 Vasanth Price ₹1947
Save ₹1298

WORLD CLASS FURNITURE @ LOWEST PRICE
VASANTH & CO Furniture
₹2000 Instant Discount for purchase above ₹20000
COMBO OFFER
Wooden Double Cot + Mattress + Steel Bero + 3 Seater Sofa
Vasanth Price ₹44975
Easy EMI

5% CASHBACK SBI card
Min. Trxn.: ₹17,500; Max. Cashback: ₹2,500 on EMI Trxns. (₹2000 on non-EMI Trxn.) per card account. Validity: 08 July - 15 Aug' 2022. T&C Apply.
HDB FINANCIAL SERVICES upto ₹5000 CASH BACK* (selected model)

BAJAJ FINSERV upto ₹7500 CASH BACK* on LED TV / AC / Refrigerator / Washing Machine / Mobile Phone

kotak Kotak Mahindra Bank upto ₹6000 Instant Discount* (selected model)

0% Interest* Attractive Finance Schemes

NO COST EMI
Debit Cards / Credit Cards

upto 20% Instant Discount*
SAMSUNG / LG / SONY / WHIRLPOOL / BLUESTAR / BOSCH / CARRIER / DAIKIN / HAIER / PUREIT / EUREKA FORBES / HITACHI / LIEBHERR / PANASONIC / TOSHIBA / TCL / HP / LENOVA / OPPO / VIVO / XIAOMI

*Conditions apply, Offers till stocks last, Images shown are indicative only.

LG | SAMSUNG | SONY | Panasonic | Haier | HITACHI | DAIKIN | GENERAL | VOLTAS | LIEBHERR | IFB | BOSCH | PHILIPS | TOSHIBA | TCL | Preethi | Crompton

SINCE 1979
CALL 93335 93335 Follow us on /Vasanthandco /Vasanthandco_in www.vasanthandco.in

# Renewing India's federalism pledge

Politics and economy the world over are moving towards more centralisation of authority. India needs to refashion federalism as a multidimensional framework for nation building, with the BJP being a key stakeholder

**Varghese K. George**
*is Resident Editor, The Hindu, Delhi*

A nation mobilised to face a crisis such as an external war or imperial occupation pushes its internal differences to the background. Leaders of the national movement responded to demands of social reforms to the extent that it was essential for, and within the limits of, preserving unity. In the words of Gandhi, "protection of neglected classes should not be carried to an extent which will harm them and... the country."

Seventy-five years after Independence, India is being mobilised for an era of national resurgence – Prime Minister Narendra Modi calls it the 'Amrit Kaal'. But this new nationalist fervour championed by Hindutva has unnerved its religious and ethnic minorities. Thus, to manage its diversity and leap forward, India needs a new federalism compact.

The global trend is towards centralisation. Exhausted populations yearn for a strong central authority who solves their problems. Elimination of intermediaries from political and economic negotiations is seen as desirable and achievable. JAM (Jan Dhan, Aadhaar, Mobile) is celebrated for its efficiency and transparency as opposed to the inefficiencies, leakages and delays in federalised governance structures.

'There are tensions in the organising principles and structure of the nation at this juncture'. Devotees at the Sangam during the Kumbh Mela in Prayagraj, U.P. • AP

**2014: A turn more than a rupture**

The three decades preceding 2014 had witnessed a weakening of the Centre. Regional parties and the civil society had gained a bigger say in governance. The BJP and the Congress were the alternating axes around which these coalitions of regional and caste outfits took shape. Even foreign policy, earlier out of bounds for domestic politics, opened up for legitimate contestations in this era. The decisive victory of the BJP in 2014 under Mr. Modi brought the curtains down on that.

But to characterise that turn as a clean break from an original republicanism would be an exaggeration. The break has been more in rhetoric than in substance. There was very little autonomy left for Kashmir, but in 2019, the dismemberment of Article 370 and the State itself was turned into a nationalist spectacle. Central laws such as Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act and the Prevention of Money Laundering Act, which give arbitrary powers to the state, were shaped by the Congress too. The GST regime, which has fundamentally altered Indian federalism, is owned equally by the Congress and the BJP. Both parties may have shown federalist instincts, too. The A.B. Vajpayee government, for instance, added more languages to the Eighth Schedule.

The year 2014, though, was different. India saw the rise of Hindutva 2.0, which has been more responsive to lower caste aspirations and exclusionary towards Muslims than any other political formation. It modified the nucleus of political power, with upper caste Hindus at its social core, and Hindi-speaking regions as its geographical core, where it mobilised lower-caste masses. Today, the BJP has around 250 members in the Lok Sabha without counting anyone from Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Karnataka, Telangana, Andhra Pradesh, the eight States of the Northeast, the Muslim-majority Jammu and Kashmir, and the Sikh majority Punjab. With 37% votes, it has 55% Lok Sabha seats. But more disequilibrium is coming. After 2031, India is constitutionally bound to enforce the 'one person, one vote' formulation, that pious principle of representative democracy, countrywide. Now, roughly 18 lakh people in in T.N. and 16 lakh in Kerala elect a Lok Sabha member; in Bihar and Rajasthan, it takes around 25 lakh. When Lok Sabha constituencies are redrawn to ensure that all of them have roughly equal numbers of voters, T.N. could lose 11 of its 39 seats and Kerala, six of its 20.

Tensions in the organising principles and structure of the nation at this juncture are of two kinds - one, among constituents within the heartland, and two, between the heartland and the peripheries. In the heartland, Hindutva has established a rainbow coalition of all castes. Symbolic empowerment and representation at various levels, such as a tribal woman succeeding a Dalit as President, inspire lower castes. But caste tensions simmer. Muslims and Sikhs, too, are powerless, restive and fearful.

There is disequilibrium in the relationship between the Hindi heartland and the south, the Northeast and Kashmir. Harder border policies; the promotion of Hindi; centralisation of policing, fiscal governance, and policymaking in a range of subjects; and the GST regime are some reasons for this. The Hindi heartland's relationship with West Bengal, Maharashtra and Gujarat, where regionalism still has mass appeal, is different, though. Regionalism and Hindutva alternate easily here.

**Social justice and secularism**

There were two frameworks for negotiating power-sharing in the heartland: secularism and social justice. In a deeply religious society, secularism was power sharing between Hindus, and Muslims and other religious minorities, while social justice became a code for power sharing across Hindu castes. The rise of Hindutva 2.0 and the dismemberment of secularism and social justice are mutually reinforcing. Here's why. The upper caste among the Muslims had monopolised the power bargained on behalf of the community. The rise of Hindutva also corresponded with their political disempowerment. In the current Lok Sabha, there are 27 Muslims members; a proportionate representation would be 80. The median Hindi-speaking Hindu perceives secularism as giving special rights to Muslims, and ridicules their religiosity. A more acceptable approach would be what Thomas Pikkety calls 'social federalism'.

Where champions of social justice have failed to be more inclusive towards lower castes, Hindutva is promising 'real social justice'. It thrives on the increasing religiosity among the OBCs and offers them more representation. Of the 22 Rajya Sabha seats it allotted recently, the BJP gave more than half to weaker sections; of the 10 that the Congress gave, eight went to members of upper castes. The BJP has brought the number of its Muslim parliamentarians down to zero.

This does not mean that Hindutva has resolved heartland's caste conflicts. The RSS has not overcome its historical disapproval of caste quotas; by implementing a 10% quota for the Economically Weaker Sections (EWS), the concept of caste quotas has been debased. The EWS quota, in practice, is a quota for upper castes. While the BJP is increasing their presence in its tent, overall the OBCs find their political representation shrunken from the heydays of social justice parties. The Centre under the BJP has a particular antipathy towards Ambedkarite outfits. All these contradictions will require resolutions. Social justice as a slogan has lost its capacity to be the vehicle for that conversation, while 'social federalism' has that capacity.

**Language of trouble**

The BJP is pushing for replacing English with Hindi as the link language of the country, while simultaneously promoting regional languages. This creates friction between heartland and non-Hindi regions, and also unsettles the middle class that sees English as emancipatory. Hindi is expanding and its dominance is inevitable – Hindi-speaking regions have higher fertility than the rest. People from these regions will migrate to non-Hindi regions, the centres of economic growth in the west and the south, where native populations are ageing and fertility is declining. The bulk of the popular culture is produced in Hindi. Home Minister Amit Shah's dream of Hindi as link language is not impossible. English cannot be banished, nor can Hindi be stopped.

India is also on the cusp of a policy-driven population management, which is an essential part of modern state building. The BJP's plans – the National Population Register, the Citizenship (Amendment) Act – are ambitious and controversial.

Last year, T.N. Finance Minister Palanivel Thiagarajan said it was unfair that T.N. and Goa had the same representation in the GST Council despite the massive difference in the sizes of their economies. Regions and States that contribute more to national economic growth will receive less in central allocation, lose more of their political representation, and have their cultural autonomy threatened, which could lead to instability.

Captured by dynastic elites, concepts of social justice, secularism and regional autonomy face a massive crisis of legitimacy. Federalism, infused with new meanings, and freed from unhelpful connotations, can be the conceptual framework to negotiate challenges. It has to be understood and used as a framework for cooperation, common goals and collective action. Federalism also has to be understood as a dynamic and multidimensional concept for which it will require a whole new set of legal and institutional arrangements - for instance, resolving the questions related to sub-categorisation of quotas and Supreme Court benches in regions.

Federalism cannot be the instrument for elites to capture all power and monopolise all representation, in the name of autonomy. Similarly, Muslim cultural autonomy cannot be a facade to perpetuate gender injustice.

Lastly, federalism is not a blueprint for a political battle between the BJP and non-BJP parties. While the BJP is a hugely centralising force, it also has a high stake in the continuing stability and unity of India. Its commitment to federalism is questioned by its opponents, who often cite Sangh Parivar texts in support of their argument. Relying on original texts and speeches of a political philosophy or religion presupposes that they cannot evolve. But all parties, including the BJP, have evolved.

What Amrit Kaal needs is a new discussion on equitable power sharing and resource sharing across regions, castes, linguistic group and genders. That will be essential for India's progress, anchored in a new federalism compact.

**The rise of Hindutva 2.0 and the dismemberment of secularism and social justice are mutually reinforcing**

# Misreading the language spectrum

The present government's freely displayed unease with constitutional institutions is directly related to its inadequate understanding of the linguistic civilisation that India has been

**G.N. Devy**
*is Chair, People's Linguistic Survey of India*

While deciding on the language question in India, the Constituent Assembly had clearly recognised that the unity of India could get adversely affected if the language policy got slanted towards the imposition of any single language over others. The creation of the Eighth Schedule, initially with 14 languages included in it, is testimony to the deep understanding that the Constituent Assembly had of the mutuality of language diversity and the Indian Republic. The number of languages included in the Eighth Schedule went up to 22, but its conceptual framework based on India's federal structure had never been deliberately violated until recently.

The present regime, driven by the ideology of Hindi-Hindu-Rashtra, has been sending disturbing signals of its desire to 'impose' a unilateral linguistic character on other linguistic populations in India. This desire pertains not just to the imposition of Hindi on non-Hindi speakers, but also to an unreasonable promotion of Sanskrit, which is pivotal to its brand of nationalism. The linguistic, cultural and education policies of the Bharatiya Janata Party-led government have almost brought the architecture of the Constitution under question.

**False assumptions about Hindi**

There is a widespread misconception about the place of Hindi in India's linguistic spectrum. It is one of the 22 scheduled languages. It is also the language with the highest number of speakers as per data from successive censuses. However, it is also true that Hindi is not the natural language of a majority of States and Union Territories in India, including Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Karnataka and Pondicherry in the south; Goa, Maharashtra and Gujarat in the west; Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir in the northwest; Orissa and West Bengal in the east; Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Tripura, Nagaland, Manipur, Meghalaya and Assam in the northeast. Hindi is believed to be the only or main language in States such as Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Rajasthan, Bihar, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh – but a closer look at their linguistic composition shows that they all have their own native regional languages and Hindi functions there as a shared pan-State language. Often, as Hindi becomes the second language for communication with people residing in these States or travelling through them, the impression about it being the primary language of these States gets reinforced. Yet, it is an impression not grounded in factual accuracy.

**On Hindi and Sanskrit**

The 2011 Census – which is still the latest – had stated a total of 19,569 'raw returns' (read, non-doctored claims) of mother tongues. Of these, close to 17,000 were rejected outright, and another 1,474 were dumped because not enough scholarly corroboration for them existed. Only 1,369, almost 7% of the total claims, were admitted as 'classified mother tongues'. Rather than placing them as languages, they were grouped under 121 headings. These 121 were declared as the languages of India. The data for Hindi were conspicuously bolstered – shown at 52-plus crore – by adding to its core figure of speakers the speakers of nearly 50 other languages. These included Bhojpuri, claimed by over five crore, many languages in Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Haryana and Bihar, claimed by close to a total six crore persons. At the same time, 17 of the 22 scheduled languages were reported by the census as showing a downward trend in their rate of growth in comparison to the previous decade. The statistical management acquires a deep meaning when seen together with public statements by the BJP's top brass about the promotion of Hindi, the stringency with which Hindi is being pushed into the administrative functioning of Central/national organisations even in non-Hindi areas and the change of signage on highways, trains and public places.

The inauguration, in New Delhi, of a Tamil class for Hindi-speaking members of Parliament. Picture shows Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and T.T. Krishnamachari. • THE HINDU PHOTO ARCHIVES

The case of Sanskrit is somewhat different. While it does not have a large number of speakers to its credit at present, and indeed it did not have the necessary numbers in support for most of its long history, it happens to be the linguistic mother for Hindi. Besides, the sacred books of Hindus are in Sanskrit. Therefore, though it does not have the numbers, it enjoys an undisputed psychological preeminence for people who consider themselves as Hindus. These include people who speak Hindi as well as speakers of many other Indian languages. Thus the number of those who consider Sanskrit a 'sacred' language is much higher than the number of Hindi speakers.

When preparations for the 2021 Census had started, one noticed a rather unusual open appeal spread through social media. It said that if your language has any words derived from Sanskrit in it, please mention Sanskrit as your second mother tongue. An emotional and communal argument was added to the appeal. It was, if people (Hindus, by implication) did not do so, government funding for 'foreign languages' (by implication Persian and Urdu, a completely false premise) would be much higher than funding for Sanskrit. There is no need to say that there is no language, including among the Dravidian languages, that does not have word borrowings from Sanskrit. It is a practice of the Census to include even the 'second language' claimed by people in the tally of the 'total number of speakers'. The last Census showed some 24,000 Indians out of a total 121 crore claiming Sanskrit as their 'mother tongue'.

Several untenable claims have been made in recent years by votaries of a Hindu Rashtra towards the need for revival of the Sanskrit language. When one claims that Sanskrit has all the knowledge in the world, as a thinking person with at least some knowledge of the world's history of ideas and respect for knowledge wherever it has sprung up in the world, I feel uneasy accepting the claim. Any given language cannot be made relevant. Either it is, or it is not relevant. A language remains relevant if people conduct their labour, their commerce and their intellectual and social exchanges using it. A language in which people acquire knowledge and develop it further remains relevant. Yet, one needs no Census to know that the proportion of the population which can use Sanskrit competently is negligible in India.

**Majoritarian nationalism**

The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh's idea of building a fanaticised Hindu Rashtra has no space for a multilingual nation. In its understanding of nationalism, a single, large majority is the primary constituent of the nation and all others, linguistic, cultural, ethnic and religious minorities, are 'non-national' or 'anti-national', convenient targets for mobilising the majority. The idea of a nation made of Hindus, with their sacred transactions in Sanskrit and practical transactions in Hindi, is by implication a stark dismissal of all other indigenous languages. This idea of nationalism has in the past castigated the English media and the forms of knowledge that came to India as a kind of historical calamity imposed on India, polluting the 'great traditions of knowledge produced in Sanskrit'.

All of these assumptions fly in the face of the deep thought and wise reflections that have gone into the making of India's Constitution. The present government's freely displayed unease with constitutional institutions has a direct relation to its inadequate understanding of the linguistic civilisation that India has been. 'Realism' and 'ideology-driven politics' probably make a pair of antonymous terms. When a myopic ideology gets the better of realism in policy matters, immense harm can result to culture and society and a nation starts going back to the past rather than progressing to the future.

**The creation of the Eighth Schedule is testimony to the deep understanding that the Constituent Assembly had of the mutuality of language diversity and the Indian Republic**

FOLLOW US:
thehindu.com
facebook.com/thehindu
twitter.com/the_hindu
instagram.com/the_hindu

# THE HINDU

INDIA'S NATIONAL NEWSPAPER SINCE 1878

MONDAY, AUGUST 15, 2022

BENGALURU
CITY EDITION
Vol. 53 • No. 193
40 pages • ₹6.00

PRINTED AT · CHENNAI · COIMBATORE · BENGALURU · HYDERABAD · MADURAI · NOIDA · VISAKHAPATNAM · THIRUVANANTHAPURAM · KOCHI · VIJAYAWADA · MANGALURU · TIRUCHIRAPALLI · KOLKATA · HUBBALLI · MOHALI · MALAPPURAM · MUMBAI · TIRUPATI · LUCKNOW · CUTTACK · PATNA

Shri Narendra Modi
Hon'ble Prime Minister

Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav

NAVA KARNATAKA
FOR NAVA BHARAT

Shri Basavaraj S. Bommai
Hon'ble Chief Minister

## OUR PLEDGE

## Fulfilling the aspirations of New India & building a prosperous Karnataka for the development of all

On the occasion of India's 76th Independence Day, we must remember the sacrifices of our freedom fighters and take a pledge to build India of their dreams. Under Prime Minister Sri Narendra Modi's able leadership, India has made significant strides in the last eight years. In Karnataka, Sri Basavaraj Bommai-led government has introduced several welfare and development-oriented schemes and is implementing them successfully.

Har Ghar Tiranga
13th-15th August 2022

### Amritha Schemes

Amrit Mahotsav

- Implementation of Amritha Schemes for various development programmes as part of India's 75th Independence Day celebrations

### Farmers' Welfare

- **Secondary Agricultural Directorate established to boost farmers' income**
- **Raitha Shakti Yojane:** Diesel subsidy @ **Rs.250** per acre to encourage mechanization in agriculture (Max. 5 acres). **Rs.400 crore** allocated.
- **PM Krishi Samman Scheme: Rs.1,975.12 crore** distributed to **50.35 lakh** farmers in 2021-22 and **Rs.956.71 crore** distributed to **47.83 lakh** farmers through DBT
- **Farm mechanization:** Distribution of **Rs.483.56 Crore** assistance to agriculture processing units. **4.54 lakh farmers benefitted**
- **PM Krishi Sinchayi Scheme:** Drip irrigation systems installed in the farms of **3.12 lakh** farmers
- **Krishi Sanjeevini Scheme: 160 Mobile Crop Health Clinics dedicated to the nation** for the proper management of pests, disease, weed problem and deficiency of soil nutrient deficiencies
- **National Award for Karnataka for Agriculture Infrastructure Fund scheme**

### Amrit Mahotsav

- Amruthabharathige Kannadadarathi program as part of the Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav **75 books** on freedom fighters released.
- **To identify places of 75 freedom fighters** and build their memorials. PM Modi appreciated this during his 'Man-Ki-Baat' speech.
- PM's **'Har Ghar Tiranga'** campaign has received an overwhelming response in Karnataka. Our heartfelt thanks to the people of Karnataka.

### Vidyanidhi Scheme

- **Raitha Vidyanidhi Scheme: Rs.439.95 crore** worth of scholarships distributed to **10.03 lakh** children of farmers. The scheme has been extended to the children of fishermen, yellow board taxi drivers and weavers.

### Fisheries-Dairy Farming-Sericulture

- **'Matsya Siri' Scheme** to improve the income of fishermen. Under this scheme, **100 deep sea shipping vessels** will be introduced in the State.
- To establish **Ksheerasmruddhi Cooperative Bank** for the benefit of milk producers
- **Rs.10,000 incentive per tonne of bivoltine cocoons**
- **Incentive increased by Rs.50 for every kg of bivoltine cocoons**

### Priority for education

- Karnataka - the first State to implement National Education Policy 2020
- **Seven Govt. Engineering Colleges of the State upgraded as Karnataka Institute of Technology (KIT)**
- Historical step taken to build **8101 classrooms** at a cost of **Rs.1,412 crore**

### SC-ST Welfare

- **Rs.28,234 crore allocated under SCSP/TSP projects**
- Rs.580.19 crore grants and additional grants of Rs.410 crore for SC/ST Corporations. **Total Rs.990.19 crore**
- **Rs.572.18 crore** scholarships for SC/ST students
- Free electricity to poor SC/ST families raised from **45 units to 75 units. 39.25 Lakh families** will be benefitted.
- Construction of 100 Ambedkar Hostels and 10 KREIS Residential School buildings at a cost of **Rs.750 crore.**

### Welfare of Other Backward Communities

- **Rs.2,249.66 crore** allocated for Backward Classes Welfare Department for 2022-23.
- The allocation for all boards and corporations for OBCs is **Rs.478.09 crore** for 2022-23
- Construction of well-equipped buildings for 50 "Kanakadasa" hostels of backward communities housed in rented buildings at a cost of **Rs.165 Crore**.

### Support for weavers & construction workers

- Assistance under Nekara Samman increased from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 5,000
- Scholarships introduced for children of building construction workers. Rs. 462.12 crore distributed to 2.97 lakh students.

### Increase in agricultural production

- Karnataka produced 160.28 lakh tonnes of foodgrains in 2020-21. A significant record to date.

### Stree Samarthya

- **Stree Samarthya: To further enhance business activity in SHGs, Rs. 500 crore community capital corpus released to 33,333 SHGs @ Rs.1.5 lakh per SHG. To benefit 3.9 lakh women.**
- **Rs.75 crore** seed capital released to **7,500 women SHGs** to establish small businesses under Amrutha SHG Micro Enterprise Scheme

### Health & Family Welfare

- **Special measures for COVID management. 11.56 crore COVID vaccines administered**
- Opening of **438 'Namma Clinics'** underway in prominent cities
- **Upgradation of 100 Primary Health Centres (71 PHCs from North Karnataka) into Community Health Centres.**

### Social Security

- Monthly pension increased by Rs.200 for widows, differently-abled and beneficiaries under Sandhya Suraksha, Manasvini and Maitri Schemes.
- Acid Victims' monthly pension increased from Rs.3,000 to Rs.10,000.
- Pension increased from Rs.1,400 to Rs.2,000 for those with a 75% mental disorder.
- Altogether, 74.22 lakh beneficiaries will be benefitted.
- Monthly Honorarium of Asha, Anganwadi Workers/Assistants, Cook-cum-Helpers engaged in Midday Meal Scheme, Village Assistants raised by Rs.1,000.

### Swami Vivekananda Yuva Shakti Yojane

- **Swami Vivekananda Yuva Shakti Yojane: Constitution of 27,395 "Swami Vivekananda SHGs' @ 1 SHG per GP to encourage the rural youth to take up self-employment and economic activities.**
- **Goal to provide skill training to 65 lakh rural youth.**

### Karnataka No. 1 Investment Destination

- **No. 1 in FDI. MoUs for 1.31 lakh crore** worth of investment signed at the World Economic Forum held in Davos and later
- Karnataka has bagged **first place** in Niti Aayog's India Innovation Index 2022
- Special Employment Policy approved to create job opportunities for the local youth

### Urban Development

- **Chief Minister's Amrutha Nagarotthana Yojane: Rs.6,000 crore** allocated for development of Bengaluru infrastructure.
- **Chief Minister's Amrutha Nagarotthana Yojane: (Local Bodies) Rs.3,885 crore allocated.**

### Regional Balance

- Grants for the development of Kalyana Karnataka doubled. **Rs.3,000 crore** allocated.

Amrit Mahotsav

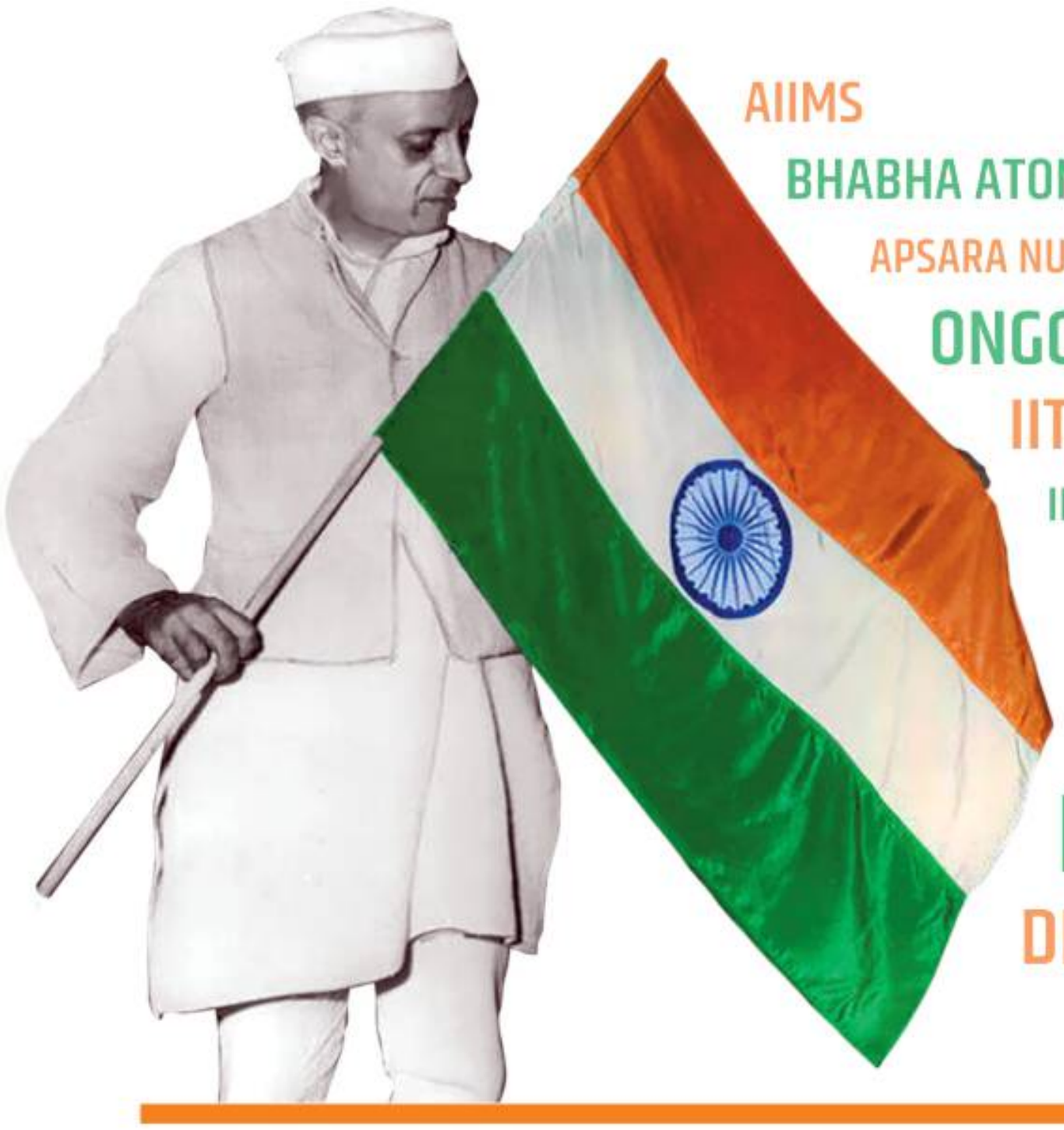
## 76th Independence Day Greetings to all the citizens of the State

As enshrined in our Constitution, - to safeguard public property and to abjure violence is the fundamental duty of every citizen of India.

karnataka information
Department of Information and Public Relations

सत्यमेव जयते
Government of Rajasthan

Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav
Har Ghar Tiranga



AIIMS
BHABHA ATOMIC RESEARCH CENTRE
APSARA NUCLEAR REACTOR
ONGC
IIT
INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION
IIM
NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT
BHAKRA NANGAL DAM
ISRO (INCOSPAR)
DRDO

# Now the tricolour has been hoisted, it must not be lowered

**Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru**
(In the Lahore Session of Congress,
on the banks of Ravi River on 31 December, 1929)

## Happy Independence Day

to all the people of Rajasthan and the Nation

"Tricolour is the symbol of social harmony and unity in diversity with respect to all religions, castes, classes and regions of our country and this should be the identity of every Indian. In the many development works done in the 75 years of independence, we have never left these values. Let us contribute to the dignity of the tricolour in the true sense, by embodying these basic principles as our identity."

**Ashok Gehlot**, Chief Minister

**Department of Information & Public Relations, Rajasthan**

Rajasthan Samwad

# An ascendant India that still faces threats

## A dynamic nation must embody a significant degree of diversity and pluralism to deal with many security challenges

**M.K. Narayanan**
*is a former Director, Intelligence Bureau, a former National Security Adviser and a former Governor of West Bengal*

Seventy-five years after India became independent, it is worth undertaking an assessment of how well the country has fared on internal parameters, even as India has emerged, in the same period, as a significant force in global affairs.

When India became independent, and apart from the turmoil of Partition and its deleterious impact, it confronted a string of violent agitations, including major Communist uprisings in Bengal and in the south, till the early 1950s. India withstood these challenges with utmost fortitude. Following this, India had a string of insurgencies, regional upheavals, linguistic tensions and related problems during much of the 1960s and the 1970s. Overshadowing many of these agitations, however, was the unrest and turmoil in Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) in the wake of Partition, fanned to a great extent by an inimical Pakistan.

Mumbai under siege, in 2008. • AP

### Early stirrings, Kashmir

Among the early insurgencies were those that occurred in the Northeast, mainly Nagaland and Manipur (some of which continue to simmer to this day), while those in Tripura and other areas soon followed. In the 1960s, India faced serious linguistic riots in Assam. The 1960s also witnessed the emergence of the left extremist threat, which persists to this day. During the 1970s, India faced major upheavals on both economic as well as language issues. During the 1980s and 1990s, India faced a major insurgency in the Punjab over the demand for an independent State of Khalistan.

From an internal security perspective, it is difficult to estimate which of the situations still cast a shadow over India today. What is clearly evident, however, is that Kashmir, now a Union Territory, remains a problem, though levels of obvious violence have declined since the division of J&K into Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh, and with stricter controls being exercised. Nevertheless, what is still evident is the degree of discontent and dissatisfaction that is yet to be eliminated.

Notwithstanding a common belief that improvement in economic conditions leads to a peace dividend, this has not been the case in Kashmir. Building alliances and coalitions to overcome differences in viewpoints also has not proved successful. Neither a more muscular policy nor attempts at conciliation and reconciliation have again produced the much sought-after peace dividend.

Kashmir thus, remains an intractable problem, despite levels of violence having declined. Much of the violence today is attributed to indigenous, rather than foreign, militants belonging to the Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) or the Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM). A new feature is the emergence of the so-called 'unattached militant'. Dealing with Kashmir may, hence, demand a further overhauling of both policy prescriptions and their implementation on the ground.

### Naxalism has some draw

The other major threat that persists from the 1960s is left-wing extremism (or Naxalism), which has an inherent tendency to wax and wane, but cannot be written off. The reason is the ideological appeal of Maoism-Leninism and the intellectual underpinnings of the movement that still attract urban youth and the deprived in the rural areas. Compared to the 1960s and 1970s, however, when Naxalites promised a 'Spring Thunder Over India', the movement has clearly lost much of its sheen. Left-wing extremism is today concentrated in small pockets in Jharkhand, Bihar, Odisha, Telangana, Chhattisgarh and Maharashtra. Many of the senior leaders have either been arrested or eliminated, and the number of surrenders is on the increase.

Nevertheless, given the global shift towards the Right, many left-wing ideological movements elsewhere are beginning to see a resurgence or revival. There is, hence, a danger of a Naxalite revival as also the emergence of the phenomenon of the urban naxalite, employing both sophistry and insidious tactics to infiltrate civil society. Violent activities will continue to shrink for the present, but given the existing governance/development deficit in many of the lesser developed regions of the country, revival of Naxalite violence by cadres better equipped and better trained, is a likely prospect.

### Threats in Punjab, the North-east

There are again certain other security threats that cannot, and must not, be ignored, though their current potential seems limited. The likelihood of a revival of militancy in Punjab is one. In the 1980s, Punjab was a copybook case of how militant movements can spread from small beginnings to produce an impact far wider than anticipated. Militancy in Punjab got enlarged – initially through mishandling, and later by the emergence of a fanatical leader such as J.S. Bhindranwale. The demand for a separate Punjab State soon became a cry for a separate State of Khalistan, independent of and outside India. Support to the movement was extended by externally based militant organisations such as the Babbar Khalsa International, the Khalistan Commando Force and the Khalistan Liberation Force, alongside support from Pakistan. The consequences of this proved grave, leading to the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and later of Punjab Chief Minister Beant Singh. Today, the possibility of a revival of militancy in Punjab appears remote, and the situation has undergone radical improvement, but Sikh militant groups in the West continue with extremist propaganda and propagate the idea of an independent Khalistan. The potential for revival may appear weak, but the situation is still volatile though not incendiary.

In the Northeast, Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura were among the States most impacted by tribal insurgencies when India became independent. The oldest and longest insurgency in the country was in Nagaland, spearheaded by the National Socialist Council of Nagalim (Isak-Muivah), or the NSCN(I-M), and later the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Khaplang), or the NSCN(K) as well. Their demand initially had an element of foreign sponsorship from China and Pakistan.

It was once a highly sanguinary movement, but levels of violence have significantly dipped in recent years. Negotiations for a proper settlement are, however, proving intractable, given the demand of the NSCN(I-M) for a separate State outside the Indian Union – a demand that is unlikely to be conceded. Meantime, the Naga top leadership is facing attrition. The NSCN(K), for instance, following the demise of its leader, S.S. Khaplang, is today confined to the periphery of the struggle, operating mainly from outside the country. Nevertheless, announcing the premature demise of the Naga struggle for independence could be misleading at this stage, though the capacity of the movement to revive itself is questionable.

The other insurgencies in the Northeast, mainly those in Manipur, Tripura, Assam, Mizoram and Meghalaya, have all, meanwhile, run out of steam. They have little opportunity today to revive.

### Terror from outside

India was a victim of terrorism prior to, and after, Independence. Nevertheless, it would be appropriate to regard the 1970s and the 1980s as a suitable starting point to understand the current phenomenon of terrorism in the country. Unalloyed terror was introduced into India in the wake of the Afghan jihad in the 1980s. Quite a few of the volunteers who joined the Afghan war were to play a significant role in sponsoring local terror outfits. Pakistan was also a major factor, with Pakistan-based terror groups such as the LeT and the JeM becoming key progenitors for the Afghan brand of terror.

During the final decade of the 20th century and the first decade of the 21st century, India came to witness a series of 'new era terror' attacks, the November 26, 2008 terror attack in Mumbai being a signal event. The objective of 'new era terror' attacks seems to be to achieve mass casualties and large-scale economic and political disruption, rather than draw attention to primary causes.

### Dealing with terror

Since 2010, the number of terror attacks in India has declined dramatically. Terrorism is, however, likely to undergo several mutations in the period ahead, since Indian security authorities seem better prepared in dealing with current aspects of asymmetric warfare. A spate of new organisations have also been set up to deal with terrorism, such as the National Investigation Agency (NIA). Refining the counter-intelligence capabilities of organisations such as the Intelligence Bureau has also taken place. The global watch on terror organisations has intensified. Sharing information across nations and putting curbs on funding of terror groups by States and other bodies are some of the other aspects that have been introduced. Notwithstanding all this, terrorism could still prove to be the defining threat of not merely the present, but future generations as well.

Finally, it is important to recognise that domestic strength is the building block of all national power. For India, it is a decided advantage that most militant movements within the country are in a state of decline, and also, that India's principal adversary, Pakistan, is in no position today to indulge in provocations such as insurgency and terror. While the external environment may not seem very conducive to peace, India needs to take advantage of the present internal situation to make its systems more dynamic, innovative and adaptive.

India would also do well to ensure shared opportunities for its citizens (since many problems stem from inequality and iniquity) as well as a common coherent national identity. Attempts need to be made to build effective social institutions, apart from investing in improving national capabilities. Ultimately, a dynamic nation must embody a significant degree of diversity and pluralism to deal with the host of internal security challenges that a nation faces.

**Terrorism is likely to undergo several mutations in the period ahead, since Indian security authorities seem better prepared in dealing with current aspects of asymmetric warfare**

HALAL

CHOP SERVE

# Freedom to indulge!

75th INDEPENDENCE WEEKEND SPECIAL

Up to 60% OFF*

ROHU

~~₹ 220~~ ₹75/kg

WHITE PRAWNS

~~₹ 600~~ ₹375/kg

MUTTON CURRY CUT

~~₹ 699~~ ₹575/kg

OFFER ENDS TODAY

Walk in and stock up on your favourite cuts. Hurry!

ORDER NOW! www.chopserve.com 6360 123 523

*T&C apply.

Electronic City | HSR Layout | Kaggadaspura | Koramangala | Kasturi Nagar
Coles Road | Arekere | RR Nagar | BTM Layout | Balagere | Munnekollal | CV Raman Nagar

On the 75th anniversary of India's Independence, *The Hindu* looks back at some people and movements in Karnataka that contributed their mite to the freedom movement

# Gorta – where the 'offence' of hoisting flag led to a massacre

## Attack by Razakars and the counter-attack by residents resulted in the death of many in this village, now in Bidar district, on May 9, 1948

KUMAR BURADIKATTI
KALABURAGI

(From left) The project to build a memorial for the people who were killed in Razakars' attack and install a statue of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel at Gorta village in Basavakalyan taluk of Bidar district has remained incomplete; Sahukar Mahadevappa Dumani's house that protected many people; and Jarnatappa Dhulappa Rajeshware, one of the few survivors of the attack. • KUMAR BURADIKATTI

The tricolour was officially hoisted across the subcontinent to celebrate Independence on August 15, 1947. However, the act continued to be an offence in some areas in Karnataka, Maharashtra, and Telangana that were part of the princely state of Hyderabad. For, Mir Osman Ali Khan, then Nizam, had refused to integrate his state with the newborn country. So, thousands in these areas continued their fight, while the rest of the country celebrated Independence.

As part of this struggle, a few people led by Baurao Patil, associated with Dayananda Saraswati's Arya Samaj, hoisted the tricolour at his village Honnalli and neighbouring Halagorta in Bidar district. To punish those involved, the Nizam's police, along with Isamuddin, the local leader of Razakars (a private armed militia formed and led by Kasim Razvi, which was independent of the Nizam government but stood firmly in support of it) came to Honnalli to arrest Patil and others but could not find them. The Razakars then ransacked Patil's house.

Within a few days, Patil and his associates retaliated, targeting Isamuddin, who was based in neighbouring Gorta village and serving as the local commander of Razakars in around eight villages. The team ambushed Isamuddin and killed him near Dhannur-Muchalamba area when he was travelling back from Basavakalyan to Gorta.

The Razakars suspected that Patil was tipped off about Isamuddin's travel by the people of Gorta and decided to retaliate by targeting the villagers. Suspecting attack, some people had left Gorta and others had begun preparation for self-defence. The house of Sahukar Mahadevappa Dumani was the centre of counter-Razakars activities in the village. Mahadevappa himself had left for Solapur soon after the murder of Isamuddin, leaving behind his servants who were armed with guns at the house.

### The day of attack

On May 9, 1948, armed forces of Razakars who were mobilised from around a dozen villages attacked Gorta from all sides. Upon hearing the gunshots, hundreds of people rushed to Mahadevappa's house and locked themselves inside. The massive house, built with heavy stone blocks, was no less than a fort. Those who were outside the house had to face the wrath of advancing Razakars. Many villagers, including the village heads, were killed in the attack and counter-attack. The clash began at about 9 a.m. and went on till the sunset.

Unable to prevail over the fighters at Mahadevappa's house in the gunfight, the Razakars retreated from the village in the evening. When they returned with reinforcement the next morning, the entire village was deserted. All the people, including those in Mahadevappa's house, had fled. Most had crossed the borders of Hyderabad state and taken shelter at Solapur, Washim, and Pune. They returned only after the princely state was annexed by India.

While there is no clear picture of the number of people killed, it is estimated to be around 200 by K.M. Munshi, Agent-General of Government of India in Hyderabad, in his book, *The End of an Era - Hyderabad Memoirs*. Virupakshayya Shivalingayya Matapathi, a drama and music teacher of Gorta, who was a witness to the clash, listed 20 people and described the sequence of events in his book published in 2014. Acharya Khanderao Kulkarni, in his book, has said that at least 50 people were killed.

### Living memory

Speaking to *The Hindu* at his house at Gorta, Jarnatappa Dhulappa Rajeshware, an 85-year-old survivor of the attack, recalled the incident, complete with names, and said that the casualties were from both sides. "Hundreds of people were killed in the attack and counter-attack on both sides. We have, at the local panchayat, displayed the names of only 20 victims who belonged to Lingayats and Brahmin communities," Mr. Rajeshware said. The project of building a memorial in the village for those killed in Razakars' attack has remained incomplete.

# Social reforms formed the basis of freedom struggle in Mysore

## Nationalistic awakening due to works of Gandhiji, Nehru had kindled patriotism

R. KRISHNA KUMAR
MYSURU

Statue of Mahatma Gandhi leading the Dandi March installed at Freedom Park at Subbarayanakere Ground in Mysuru which was the epicentre during Quit India Movement. • M.A. SRIRAM

The freedom struggle in the princely state of Mysore was not marked by violent upheavals as in some parts of the country and the spirit of nationalism was kindled in a slow process alongside social reforms.

The patriotic spirit and verve being rekindled to mark the 75th anniversary of Independence Day had a different flavour in the decades leading to Independence in Mysore region whose entry into the mainstream freedom struggle was relatively late.

But historians aver that notwithstanding the delayed entry of the princely state of Mysore into the freedom struggle, the nationalistic awakening due to the works of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru had kindled patriotism among the masses.

Congress leaders from the region were at the forefront of ushering in social reforms and shaping public opinion towards the large cause of attaining freedom from the British.

Tagadur Ramachandra Rao was among the prominent leaders from Mysore who cast a spell on the people of the region through his activism, according to N.S. Rangaraju, former Dean, Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Mysore.

He said that inspired by the works of Mahatma Gandhi and his call for Swadeshi, Rao who used to sell only foreign goods on a pushcart, made a bonfire of it and won the admiration of the people.

Rao was joined by M.N. Jois and they worked for the abolition of untouchability and promoted the entry of Dalits temples at T. Narsipur and Nanjangud. "This evoked hostility from the upper caste men who subjected the two to ridicule besides tormenting them or assaulting them," said Prof. Rangaraju.

### For cause of Dalits

Rao started a Khaddar Sahakara Sangha at Tagadur which came into prominence and became a source of livelihood for scores of people in the village. According to the Mysore Gazetteer, Rao took up the cause of the Dalits and led many agitations calling for ending untouchability which also represented the wider nationalistic cause during the freedom movement.

When Gandhiji toured Mysore region in 1927, he propagated the use of khadi and a khadi production unit was established at Badanwal.

In 1928, Rao opposed the visit of the Simon Commission and published a booklet opposing its visit besides addressing a public gathering. For this, he was arrested and jailed and thus became the first political prisoner in Mysore state, according to the gazetteer.

Thus the freedom struggle in the region saw two villages coming to the fore – Tagadur due to its association with Rao and Badanwal where the Khadi unit was established and was visited by Gandhiji – once in 1927 and again in 1934. The social works and activism of the Congress helped prepare the ground for larger involvement of the masses and this came to the fore in 1942 when the Quit India Movement was launched. The Subbarayanakere Grounds was the epicentre of the movement and large gatherings while the Maharaja's College hostel emerged as the nuclei for planning out the agitations.

People in Mysore by now had galvanised themselves behind the national movement and there was a surge in student participation, the seeds of which were sown through social reforms and activism decades earlier and helped shape public opinion to rally behind the Congress for Independence.

# Vidurashwatha firing changed course of freedom movement in Mysore state

## 32 people were killed in police firing for trying to hoist the tricolour

K.V. ADITYA BHARADWAJ
BENGALURU

A cenotaph at Vidurashwatha in memory of the martyrs. • SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT

Vidurashwatha witnessed a ghastly "massacre" – as described by eyewitnesses – of 32 freedom fighters in police firing for trying to hoist the tricolour on April 25, 1938. This was also one of the rare instances when the Congress-led freedom movement was violently suppressed in the Mysore kingdom under the rule of Krishnaraja Wadiyar IV and Sir Mirza Ismail as the Diwan. Vidurashwatha subsequently came to be known as the Jallianwala Bagh of South India.

### Shivapura convention

Following the 1938 Haripura Congress convention's resolution, Mysore Pradesh Congress was established and its talks with the Mysore administration broke down with Mirza Ismail rejecting their demands to establish a *Javabdari Sarkara* (responsible government) and allow the hoisting of the tricolour across the state. To protest this, the Congress held a convention at Shivapura in Mandya district in the second week of April 1938. Then Deputy Commissioner Inayatullah Mehkri reportedly refused to open fire at the peaceful convention for breaking prohibitory orders and was transferred out. The Shivapura convention saw several leaders hoist the tricolour and get arrested. The convention was followed by similar programmes to hoist the tricolour across the state.

Congress leaders of Gauribidanur decided to hoist the tricolour at Vidurashwatha during the annual *rathotsava* and cattle fair that year from April 15 to 29 to gain more traction. However, the Amaldar Magistrate of Gauribidanur imposed prohibitory orders and all Congress leaders who were trying to organise the flag day were arrested from April 18. Two leaders who led large processions towards Vidurashwatha – Ramaiah Setty and Jvalaiah – were arrested on April 23, leading to large-scale protests and mobilisation which converged at Vidurashwatha on April 25. Amid heavy police deployment, local leaders Sooranna, Narayana Swamy, Srinivasarao, and K. Subbarao hoisted the tricolour and were arrested, making the crowds agitated.

The magistrate ordered a lathi-charge on the crowd when they retaliated with stone-pelting. District Superintendent of Police A.S. Khalil fired at the crowd with his service revolver and soon the firing began – a total of 96 rounds – killing 32 people, recounted an official account of the event published by the Archeology, Museum and Heritage Department, Government of Karnataka. However, then Mysore government disputed the number of deaths and recorded it to be only 10.

### Mirza-Patel pact

Following the ghastly "massacre", Mahatma Gandhi sent Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Acharya Kripalani to Mysore and this led to Mirza-Patel pact, in which the Mysore government accepted the demand to hoist the tricolour across the state along with the Mysore flag, recognised the Congress as a political party, among other demands. The second convention of Mysore Congress was held in Vidurashwatha in 1939.

Today, a memorial for the 32 people killed in the shooting stands at Vidurashwatha. A gallery, Veera Soudha, depicting the entire sweep of the history of freedom struggle was installed at the venue in 2009. The gallery, which is a symbol of freedom struggle, recently became a site of ideological contest, as it came under attack by Hindutva groups who took objection to some exhibits at the gallery. Hindutva groups allegedly threatened to burn down the gallery if seven exhibits – two on Mahatma Gandhi's murder, one on Hindu communalism, two on Tipu Sultan, an exhibit about a young Muslim boy facing sedition in Hyderabad, and another exhibit on Adivasi struggles – were not removed and an exhibit hailing the contribution of V.D. Savarkar was not added. However, no changes have been made at the gallery.

# A case of history buried literally

## There is no trace of Jakani Bavi, where the British shot 3 bravehearts, in Dharwad

GIRISH PATTANASHETTI
HUBBALLI

The present-day status of what once was historic Jakani Bavi in Dharwad. • GIRISH PATTANASHETTI

When people as well as the administration become insensitive to history and its significance, ancient structures that are witness to important historical incidents get buried. This is what has happened in the case of 'Jakani Bavi' (Jakani well) in Dharwad – it has been literally buried.

If you ask any resident of Dharwad for Jakani Bavi, they will guide you to the place or give directions. And as you reach the place, you see various shops and commercial establishments displaying boards having Jakani Bavi Road or circle mentioned on them. But if you stop to look for the old well that was known as Jakani Bavi, you will see no trace of it.

### Faced the bullets

It was at this very junction, way back in July 1921, that three freedom fighters and activists of the Khilafat Movement laid their lives. Mallikasab bin Mardansab, Goususab bin Khadarsab, and Abdul Gaffar Chautai were those bravehearts who faced the bullets of the British forces and lost their lives on July 1, 1921. They were among the large crowd that had gathered for picketing before an arrack shop near Jakani Bavi in Dharwad to register their protest against the arrest of six of their fellow activists. Those were the days when the non-cooperation movement had spread across the country and Dharwad residents had begun actively participating in it. The firing resulted in the death of three and injuries to 39 people.

But now, Jakani Bavi, which was 'witness' to the use of brutal force by the British and the sacrifice of the Khilafat activists has been buried. The levelled land is now the property of a community association.

The only matter of solace is that there is a memorial installed for the three martyrs and at one corner is the signboard which says 'Hutaatmara Vrutta' (martyrs' circle).

### Well to 'dustbin'

It was more than 15 years ago that the municipal authorities felt that the well, which once supplied water to the entire locality, had turned into a "dustbin" and in the interest of the "health" of the people it should be filled up.

However, 56-year-old Narayan Gudipati, who runs a salon at the circle, did not feel so. He felt that the well could be revived if it was cleaned and restored, and approached authorities to preserve it. But they were in no mood to listen and did not realise the significance of the well too.

"My grandmother Anjanamm used to tell us about how the well catered to the needs of the locality. She also has faint memory of the police firing," said Sujata Gudipati, wife of Mr. Gudipati. Her grandparents' house is just a few feet away from what used to be Jakani Bavi.

According to Mr. Gudipati, the well was an ancient one which had the provision for having a bath also. "Our elders used to tell us that people used to take bath before entering the Tungabhadreshwar temple. Even now if you dig a few feet at this place, water will ooze out," he said.

Mr. Gudipati did not receive support from the local residents as they were afraid of going against a local politician belonging to a dominant community, which wanted the land. "I was alone and I being a small person, did not have the resources and strength to fight against mighty," he said.

# 'Nagar rebellion': A forgotten peasants' movement against harsh taxation

## Budi Basveppa Nayaka revolted against the British, native rulers backed by them

SATHISH G.T.
HASSAN

The people's struggle against the British and the native kings who ruled on behalf of the imperial regime has a long history of bloodshed and sacrifice. Among them, the rebellion of peasants in the Malnad region of Karnataka – called 'Nagar rebellion' – against the taxation and inhuman practices of the rulers to extract taxes in 1830-31, deserves a prominent place.

The rebellion, which forced the Mysuru rulers and the British to deploy heavy force, ended in the death of at least 250 people, though there were statements by officers to suggest a higher toll.

Nagar, now in Shivamogga district, was the headquarters of a district in the beginning of the 19th century. Then it was part of the Mysore state, which was under indirect British rule. Prior to this, the district was under the Keladi rulers. Hyder Ali conquered Keladi kingdom in 1763 and it stayed briefly with them till his son Tipu Sultan's death in 1799 at the hands of the British. Later, Nagar continued with Mysore state, as per the treaty between the Mysore rulers and the British.

### Better times

Before becoming part of the Mysore kingdom, Keladi Nayaks had a distinct land revenue system, which was considered relatively "pro-people". However, the new tax regime and brutal methods adopted to extract tax, led to unrest in Nagar.

Budi Basveppa Nayaka, who claimed himself "king of Nagar", organised the farmers and held several meetings by mid-1830. He promised the people a reduction in land rents and compensation for losses. With an army of 200 people, he attacked the fort at Anandpur, now in Sagar taluk, in August 1830. Though his effort to capture the fort failed, it led to many such violent clashes with the rulers.

As clashes increased, the local officers found it difficult to contain them. Then king Krishnaraja Wadiyar III ordered the officers to act tough on the rebellions. The people who refused to pay taxes were subjected to grave punishment. By the end of December 1830, more than 50 people were killed in different incidents.

The king himself visited Channarayapatna in Manjarabad district, now Hassan, on December 18, 1830. He witnessed a huge gathering of rebels. The crowd was dispersed by resorting to violence. Five people were executed on the spot. Later, the company government actively joined the efforts to quell the rebellion. Lieutenant Rochfort, who was a resident of the Mysore kingdom, advised the Mysore rulers on how to tackle the rebellion. They eventually succeeded to recapture forts conquered by the rebels.

During one such incident at Honnali, now in Davangere district, on March 12, 1831, the Mysore army captured 180 rebels from a fort and a temple. Of them, 99 were later hanged on the road towards Shikaripur. This is one of the major incidents of violence during the rebellion. By April 1831, the rulers managed to taken back Nagar under their control.

The British government had constituted a committee to probe into the rebellion and submit a report. The committed in its report, based on testimonials and written sources, noted that 240 people were killed during the rebellion. The then Diwan of Mysuru had submitted that 164 had been killed. However, one officer in charge of Nagar had claimed that he alone had killed more than 700 insurgents. The rebels had also killed many civil servants. Following the rebellion, the Mysore state went under the control of the British in 1831. The king handed over the rule to the company on October 19, 1831. For the next 50 years, the state was under the direct rule of the British.

### A few accounts

The story of Budi Basveppa and the massacre is in memory of old people. D.B. Shankarappa, a retired teacher and former president of Shivamogga district Kannada Sahitya Parishat, has penned two novels based on the life of Budi Basveppa and Honnali massacre.

# Self-reliance in India and the 4IR

A special effort must be made in the country to promote a research-oriented culture — in human resources, industry, academia and scientific institutions

**D. Raghunandan**
*is with the Delhi Science Forum, affiliated to the All India Peoples Science Network*

India, and the world, stand at the cusp of what is termed the Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR), in which new generation technologies such as 5G, AI, Internet of Things (IoT), quantum computing, bio-pharma, robotics, autonomous vehicles on land, sea or air, "green" energy sources including fuel cells and "green hydrogen," related batteries or other storage systems, are expected to dominate the global economy over the next few decades. Countries which possess related know how and industrial capability will doubtless be the major players. Regrettably, despite its much-touted claims of being among the leading economies of the world, India is poorly placed with respect to most 4IR technologies, and may well find itself dependent on other countries and multinational companies (MNCs) even while providing among the largest markets for them. To avoid this fate, determined, goal-oriented and adequately funded measures would be required to urgently develop and build self-reliant capabilities in at least some of these technologies.

It is distressing that, in this 75th year of Independence, we feel the need to call for the revival and revitalisation of newly independent India's foundational policy of self-reliance in science, technology (S&T) and industry. Unfortunately, under the influence of the neo-liberal policy paradigm since the 1990s, self-reliance has been mistakenly shunned, initially as an obsolete idea of autarky and reinventing the wheel, and later under the present dispensation as also a relic of "Nehruvian socialism." Neither characterisation is correct, as India's own history and the policy responses of comparable capitalist economies show.

Self-reliance is best conceptualised as autonomous S&T capability, enabling further indigenous advancement of S&T and related industry. Self-reliance would enable greater economic benefits through higher domestic value added, and strategic benefits by reducing dependence on external entities and positioning the country higher up the value-chain in the international division of labour.

India embarked on this path of self-reliance, with a lead role for PSUs in "core" sectors and state investment in industrial R&D through the CSIR laboratories, in frontier areas such as space, nuclear energy and defence, as well as in human resource development at IITs, IISc, etc. By the 1970s, India emerged as a leading nation among developing countries, at par with if not ahead of China and other East Asian countries except Japan. Notably, these policies were fully backed by private sector leaders in their Bombay Plan of 1948 on the grounds of their own lack of capital and capabilities.

Signs of an ambitious yet daunting plan to be a part of the EV revolution. • AFP

**Era of liberalisation**

However, with decreasing state support for PSUs and inability of the latter to upgrade their technologies in the 1980s, self-reliance was set on a declining trajectory. It was fondly believed that liberalisation in the 1990s would bring in new technologies into India. Whereas foreign companies established themselves in the large Indian market, there is little evidence of Indian companies having absorbed the new technologies and acquired autonomous capability to upgrade to the next generation. The private sector in India showed little interest in R&D, earlier in a protected domestic market and has later been content in collaborations with foreign OEMs on the latter's terms. India thus completely missed out on the Third Industrial Revolution characterised by semiconductors, mass manufacturing, electronics, white goods, etc. Years of enticing foreign defence majors to set up shop in India with the same goal have also come to nought. No foreign company or country parts with advanced technologies, and no serious effort was made by India to absorb them.

The path adopted by the East Asian "Tiger" economies in the 1970s onwards was starkly different, consciously built around self-reliance. Following the Japanese example of indigenous development in electronics, optics, domestic appliances, automobiles, etc. earlier, South Korea took up S&T development in these sectors, through planned R&D and establishment of industrial capability through an active partnership with the famous Korean chaebols or conglomerates, established globally leading brands and products, and acquired advanced S&T knowhow. The U.S. had argued against such state-led planned industrial development in favour of a market-led approach, but the South Koreans like the Japanese determinedly followed what some have termed the "Asian model" of capitalism. Taiwan has similarly specialised in semiconductor chips and robotics. These countries are well placed in several areas of 4IR.

China always needs separate discussion, for which however we have no space. Here we will only note that Starting as an outsourced manufacturer of everything, China made a conscious effort to absorb technologies through reverse-engineering, conducting R&D, developing its own globally known products and brands, and moving on to high-tech sectors. More recently, China has decided to shift from low-end manufacturing and work to establish global leadership in 4IR by 2035, investing hundreds of billions of dollars in R&D, already visible in 5G, EVs, batteries, etc.

Even the U.S. which, over the decades, continually ceded space to other mostly Asian nations by embracing outsourcing, based solely on costs and profits, is now reversing course in several critical areas, so as to maintain technological leadership, compete with overseas rivals, overcome supply chain disruptions globally seen during COVID-19, and generate domestic employment. The U.S. has recently announced an investment of $52 billion to "re-shore" domestic chip manufacturing. The recent U.S. climate Bill provides billions of dollars in incentives for domestic manufacture of renewable energy equipment, EVs, "green" hydrogen, carbon capture and sequestration technologies, etc.

**Lack of clarity**

India remains stuck in a fossilised neo-liberal paradigm. The present dispensation is unable to distinguish between domestic manufacture with foreign collaboration and self-reliant indigenous production along with R&D to support continuous upgradation and new technologies.

A unit of Foxconn, the major contract manufacturer of cellphones, in Tamil Nadu ran into trouble after food poisoning cases in its dormitories for women workers and poor working conditions. Electronics manufacture may seem like a modern, hi-tech sector, but may not be more than modern "sweat-shops," low down the value chain. In other countries, Foxconn has also laid off thousands of workers as it modernises through robots, etc., so even the employment expected in such industries is not likely to fructify. Several projects coming up under the government's programme to incentivise domestic manufacturing in semiconductors, including crucial chip-making foundries, are foreign collaborations, with little sign of R&D. Will these projects lead to self-reliance?

EV volumes are growing in India, with batteries being roughly 60% of total cost. However, there are very few battery manufacturers in India. Some automobile makers have formed a consortium to assemble batteries at least for their own consumption, but using imported cells. A few industrialists are flirting with the idea of setting up battery-making units in India, some even acquiring foreign firms with new technology patents. Will any Indian firm also conduct R&D, as all global battery manufacturers do, and must, to survive given the rapid technological changes afoot in EV batteries? Will any state-sector laboratory conduct such R&D, if needed with a private sector partner? Or will India only transition from an oil importer to a battery importer?

**Declining R&D expenditure**

India's R&D expenditure has declined steadily since 2005-6, and is stagnant since 2014 at an average 0.65% of GDP, compared to 1.5-3% in most top-10 economies. Despite cutbacks in government research funding to PSUs and CSIR labs, state-support for R&D is around 63% of total R&D spend, while private sector R&D expenditure has risen from 14% in 1991-2, much of it by MNCs using cheaper Indian S&T workforce. But there is little information on how much of this "R&D" is adaptation, customisation, incremental improvements, etc.

The Economic Survey of 2021 bemoaned this low level of R&D, and called for an increase to 2% of GDP but, following neo-liberal ideology, engaged in wishful thinking and called for a sharp increase in private sector R&D rather than "jugaad" innovation. The Economic Survey 2022 avoided the subject of R&D altogether. In this year's Budget speech, the Finance Minister spoke of support for R&D in "sunrise sectors" such as AI, drones, genomics, pharma, semiconductors, green energy and mobility systems, but did not provide any additional or earmarked funds for this.

Clearly, India cannot spend lavishly on R&D like China. But India can and should identify specific sectors for mission-mode R&D covering the entire spectrum from knowledge creation to technology or product development to manufacturing. The state should invest in R&D especially in state-sector labs, research institutions and PSUs and, where necessary, bring in private sector entities with autonomous R&D and manufacturing capabilities, with willingness to make significant collaborative investments.

Lastly, a special effort must be made to build and promote an R&D ecosystem in the country, including in human resources, and a research-oriented culture in industry, academia and scientific institutions. Unfortunately, neither the STIP nor the NEP, with its over-emphasis on distance learning and commercialisation, show the required recognition of the need for, or realistic approach to, such necessary transformations.

**Regrettably, despite its much-touted claims of being among the leading economies of the world, India is poorly placed with respect to most 4IR technologies, and may well find itself dependent on other countries and multinational companies**

# India needs to build a 'climate-ready' state

As climate change has already affected what constitutes effective development, a growing, aspirational nation such as India needs to factor climate considerations into its vision of future development

**Navroz K. Dubash**
*is a Professor at the Centre for Policy Research*

At first look, it is not entirely clear how a growing, increasingly assertive India approaching its 75th anniversary of Independence should engage the global problem of climate change. Climate change is undoubtedly a scientific reality. Heat waves in India and across the world, and a global backdrop of growing floods and violent weather events suggest climate change is a physical reality now, not just a future threat. Yet, India has done relatively little compared to the developed world to contribute to the build-up over the last 150 years of greenhouse gases that cause climate change. And India has pressing development challenges – including job creation and providing basic human development – that are historically linked with growing energy use. It is tempting to say, under these circumstances, that India should focus on development first, and worry about climate change later.

This would be a mistake. Climate change has already affected, and will continue to shape, what constitutes effective development. A growing, aspirational India needs to factor climate considerations into its vision of future development.

**Low carbon future is key**

The energy economy, for example, is closely tied with a low-carbon future. India's competitiveness and scope for job creation will be affected by how well India anticipates and prepares for new technologies around battery storage, electric vehicles, and energy-efficient buildings. Moreover, development choices made now will affect the resilience of Indian agriculture to droughts, of India's cities to flooding and the economic prospects of India's poor who depend on forests and fisheries. Internalising climate implications into alternative development choices now is more effective rather than trying to reverse course later.

But the situation is more complex than simply pointing the economy in a new direction. The transition to a low-carbon and climate-resilient future may not be costless; it may cause trade-offs requiring redirection of investments away from immediate needs, requiring compensatory international financial support. For example, how can India in the future pivot away from a coal economy without hampering the energy economy in the short and medium run? It may require strategic bets because not all low-carbon or climate-resilient options are automatically and immediately in India's interest. For example, which technologies best afford India competitive advantage and the prospect of creating jobs? While it is absolutely in India's enlightened self-interest to factor climate change into choices of its development future, it is also necessary to do so in a smart and strategic way.

**Multiple-sector coordination**

This, in turn, places considerable stresses on Indian governance. The scale and scope of the climate problem, the need for coordination across multiple sectors, and the considerable uncertainties the future holds place a particular responsibility on governments to lead the way. The Indian state (and to be fair, this is true of most other states) is deeply under-equipped to deal with the complexities of development in a warming world. Looking ahead to the fourth quarter century after Independence, India needs to build a 'climate-ready' state in terms of both strategic ability and implementation capacity.

Integrating climate change into development requires a substantial advance in the capacity for generating knowledge and undertaking strategic action. This includes, for example, identifying where there are synergies between development and climate mitigation: building more efficient public transport reduces emissions while making for more liveable and low-pollution cities. But there may also be trade-offs: moving India's poor off biomass and toward clean gas for cooking may increase emissions, but this is necessary for a poor nation's development. Responsible policy making requires understanding synergies and trade-offs across multiple objectives – economic and social development, equality, energy security, local and global environment, and resilience – to inform policy.

But, it is not only immediate choices that are at stake. India has to make strategic bets about the future to meet development needs under climate constraints. For example, might this be a moment to re-think the rice-wheat cropping system in favour of more resilient and less water-intensive crops? What are the cost implications of future climate-proofing, and what does this imply for India's requirements of global financial support? What is needed are informed decisions about India's choice of development pathway, and its fitness for climate futures. A dedicated, and ideally independent, low-carbon development commission would be a good start, but it must be one that can tap into research, academic, business and civil society institutions in a systematic way.

Solar panels on a building, in Vijayawada, Andhra Pradesh. • G.N. RAO

**Industrial policy**

An important future arena for strategic capacity is the design and execution of green industrial policy: anticipating areas of competitive advantage for India; supporting relevant technology futures; and ensuring a supportive implementation environment. For example, recent policy announcements suggest the Indian government is seeking to play a steering role in areas such as electric vehicles and battery technology. However, the history of industrial policy is a cautionary tale. Governments are just as vulnerable to capture by industries they seek to work closely with, with detrimental effects on Indian competitiveness, and hence job creation. Doing industrial policy well requires the right balance between being 'embedded' within industry in order to know what is required, and having sufficient 'autonomy' to avoid being captured.

Strategic thinking also extends to the need for broadening the scope of diplomacy. The existing lines of Indian climate diplomacy remain important: keeping the pressure on the rich world for mitigation action and associated demands for finance. But so, too, does anticipating new challenges: planning for the prospects of a climate tax at national borders; growing formation of carbon clubs and technology partnerships; and the intertwining of energy security and climate diplomacy. The responses to these new challenges must be based on a clear-headed understanding of India's development interests in a warming world.

**Implementation capabilities**

A climate-ready state needs to have far stronger implementation capabilities. This, in turn, requires horizontal and vertical coordination, and the ability to link between domestic and global debates. In a climate-ready future, existing silos across sectors will need to be dissolved. Energy systems, transport systems, urban planning and building design will, for example, have to work together to maximise the potential for new renewable energy-based transport and urban systems. Mechanisms to channel strategic knowledge and forge coordination across currently disparate ministries are required.

There is an important additional point here: while the Environment Ministry must continue to play a central role, climate change as a development challenge requires abilities and powers beyond those of an environment ministry. An all-of-government response requires a broad perspective and coordination ability that lie above a single ministry. Yet, because it must be steeped in knowledge, deliberation and circumstances on the ground, simply assigning the task to a powerful but rarefied Prime Minister's Office may be sub-optimal. An open and dynamic inter-ministerial coordination structure is required.

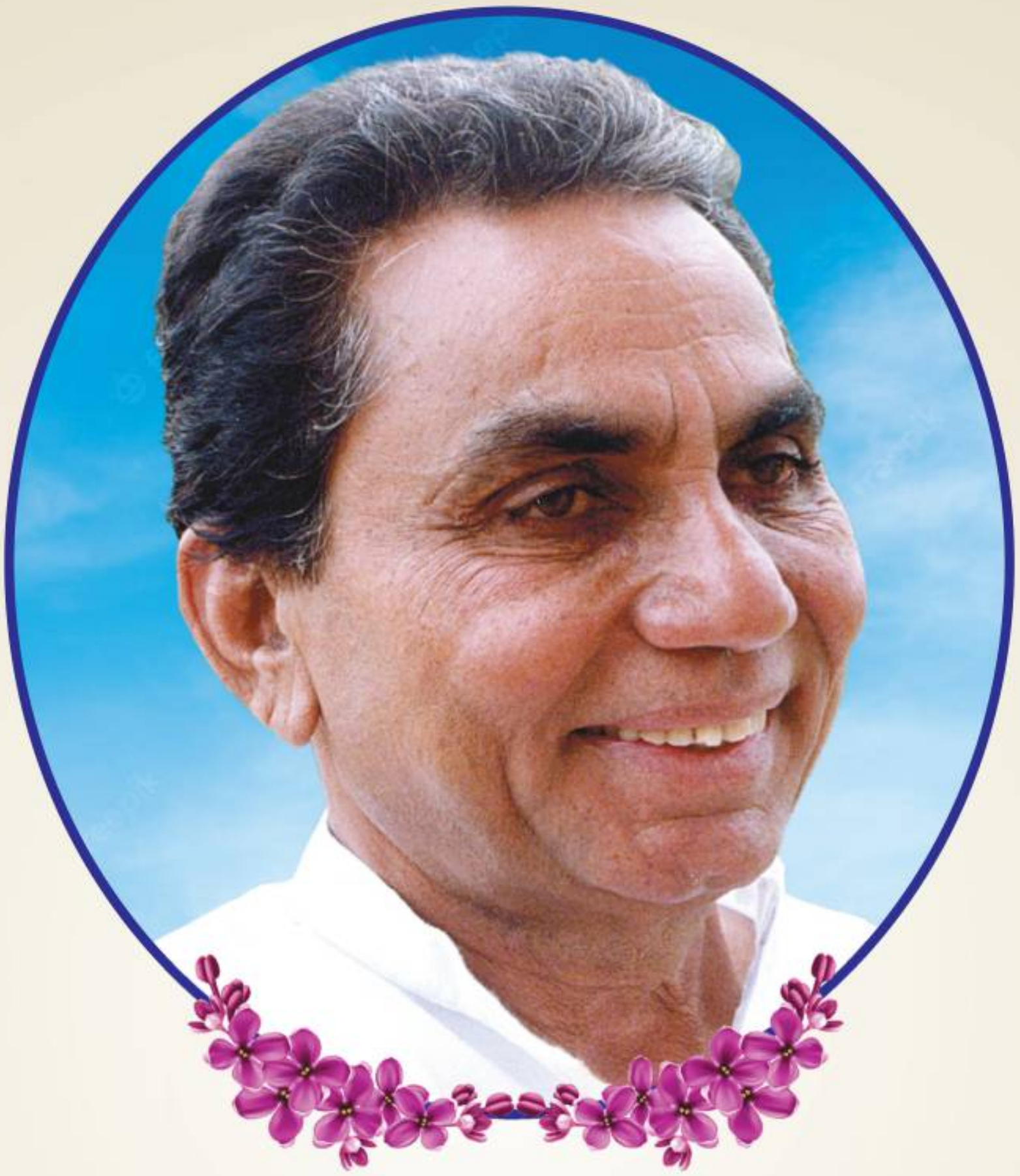
**Cooperative federalism**

Equally, if not more, important is vertical coordination between the Centre and States. Sectors vulnerable to climate impacts, from water to agriculture to urban development, are in the hands of States. States have shown they can usefully experiment with solutions and tailor policies to local context. Yet, States also require knowledge of public goods in terms of relevant climate science, support for coordination across States facing similar issues, and access to finance. Climate change redoubles the need for functioning cooperative federalism and making creative use of existing bodies such as the Finance Commission.

A warming world is also one that is more complex for a nation such as India seeking rapid development and better lives and livelihoods for its citizens. India cannot put development on hold for climate change. But to realise our aspirations, we must also realise that the nature of the development challenge has itself changed, and build a state capable of rising to this challenge.

**While the Environment Ministry must continue to play a central role, climate change as a development challenge requires abilities and powers beyond those of an environment ministry**

# THE LEGEND LIVES ON



## Dr. R N Shetty

**Founder - R N Shetty Group of Institutions**

15.08.1928 | 17.12.2020

*A lifetime of sacrifice and success,*
*your achievements continue to*
*guide us as we follow your footsteps*
*towards serving our communities.*

**Remembered by**
**Management and Staff**

- RNS Institute of Technology
- RNS School of Architecture
- RNS First Grade College
- RNS Pre University College
- RNS International School

THE INSTITUTE OF COST ACCOUNTANTS OF INDIA
Statutory Body under an Act of Parliament
www.icmai.in | Since 1944
1800 346 0092
1800 110 910
studies@icmai.in

The Institute of Cost Accountants of India is a premier professional Institute and a Statutory Body established under an Act of Parliament under the administrative control of Ministry of Corporate Affairs (MCA), Government of India to regulate and develop the profession of Cost and Management Accountancy (CMA) in the country.

CMA Course Going Global
MENTORING FUTURE-READY PROFESSIONALS

5,00,000+ Students
90,000+ Alumni
4 Regional Councils
113 Chapters across India
59 CMA SC & 382 ROCC
11 Overseas Centers
Largest CMA body in Asia
2nd Largest CMA body in the Globe

Syllabus 2022
ADMISSION OPEN

Eligibility

Admission in Foundation Course
- Passed Class 10 (Require to pass 10+2 before appearing in CMA Examination)
- 10+2 Pass or its equivalent (Students appearing for 10+2 also apply on provisional basis)

Registration to Intermediate Course
- Passed CMA Foundation Examination
- Graduates of any discipline (Students awaiting final result also apply on provisional basis)
- Qualified CAT Level - I of The Institute of Cost Accountants of India
- Qualified Engineers

Course Fees
Foundation - Rs. 6,000/- | Intermediate - Rs. 23,100/- | Final - Rs. 25,000/-
*Installment facility available **Merit based Scholarships available

Skills Training
World Class Employability and Techno Skill Training facility for CMA Intermediate Students
98040 51648
skilltraining@icmai.in
SAP | Microsoft Education | Cambridge University Press | E-FILING

More than 2000 Placements in 2021 & 2022

Prominent Recruiters in CMA Campus Placement Drive: 2021 - 2022
ABB, accenture, Capgemini, CAPITA, Cytel, CEAT, Deloitte, EY, genpact, HSCL, ICICI Bank, Infosys, PHILIPS, vedanta, ALSTOM, CITCO, HOLCIM, UBS, Olam, JLL
And Many More...

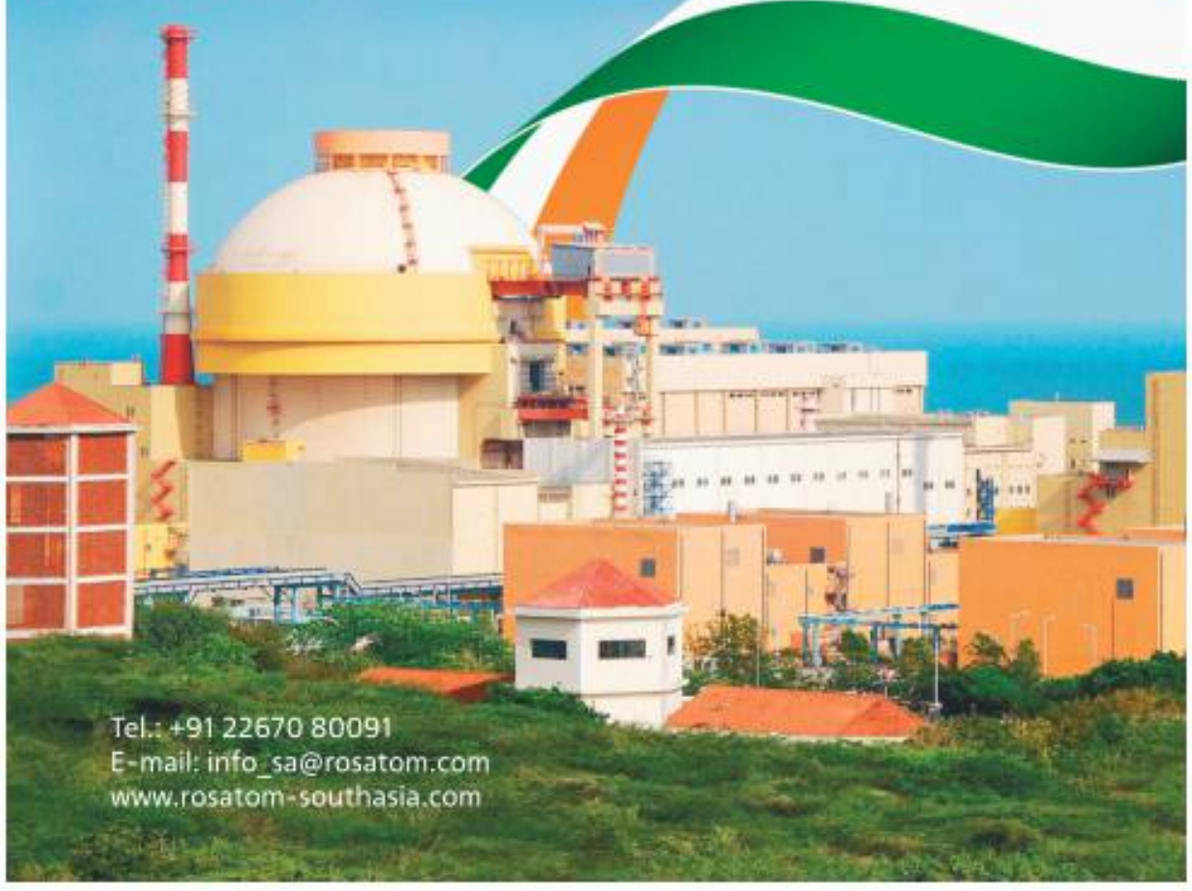
Highest CTC offered INR 275 lakh p.a. | Avg. CTC offered INR 10 lakh p.a.

The Institute of Cost Accountants of India
Headquarters: CMA Bhawan, 12 Sudder Street, Kolkata - 700016
Delhi Office: CMA Bhawan, 3 Institutional Area, Lodhi Road, New Delhi - 110003
94323 82747
placement@icmai.in

Behind Every Successful Business Decision, there is always a CMA

ROSATOM

ROSATOM CONGRATULATES INDIA ON 75TH INDEPENDENCE DAY



Tel.: +91 22670 80091
E-mail: info_sa@rosatom.com
www.rosatom-southasia.com

MEDIATEK
Incredible In. Incredible Out.

MediaTek wishes all readers a very Happy Independence Day

Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav

MediaTek HyperEngine
Enhancements that give gamers intelligent performance and power-efficiency boosts, putting them a click ahead of competitors

MediaTek Dimensity 9000 | MediaTek Dimensity 8100 | MediaTek Dimensity 1300
MediaTek Dimensity 1200 | MediaTek Dimensity 930 | MediaTek Dimensity 920
MediaTek Dimensity 900 | MediaTek Dimensity 810 | MediaTek Dimensity 700

For more information about mediaTek Dimensity, visit: i.mediatek.com/mediatek-5g

Copyright 2022 © MediaTek, Inc. All rights reserved.

# Indelible memories of Mahatma's visit to Tirupati

## In honour of the momentous occasion on September 28, 1921, the main commercial street was renamed Gandhi Road

A.D. RANGARAJAN
TIRUPATI

The air was festive on September 28, 1921 in Peddangadi Veedhi (then called 'Pedda Bazar'), the main commercial street in the little village of Tirupati ahead of the arrival of Mahatma Gandhi. The crowd was bursting at the seams with people walking all the way from the nearby villages to see the man who filled patriotism in every heart.

It was a momentous occasion for the residents to watch the Mahatma walk along with them and address a public meeting. There were street light points at major junctions, which are known today as Balaji Colony Circle, Town Club Circle, Hathiramji Mutt (Poola Matam) and Nalugukalla Mandapam.

Metal cauldrons with burning torches were placed on tall poles installed at these spots. Gandhiji walked under the brightness of these street lights. It was in memory of his visit that the street was renamed as 'Gandhi Road', which is known by this name even today.

### Rousing reception

Tatigari Pala Ramakrishnaiah Mandadi, a staunch Gandhian running a tea outlet here, made arrangements for the meeting and accorded a rousing reception to the Mahatma for that historic event. The tea shop transformed into 'Ramakrishna Bakery' after independence and remained a popular hangout for those with nationalist thoughts till the late 1970s.

**Grand celebrations:** Tatigari Pala Ramakrishnaiah Mandadi celebrating Independence Day in 1961. • SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT

"His contemporaries used to recall 'those were the days' kind of anecdotes and share memories with us while having a cup of tea," says his maternal grandson P. Kumar, who runs the bakery today.

Painted in Tricolour, the outlet resembles a museum with rare black and white pictures of the freedom movement dotting the walls.

### Srikalahasti visit

Even after Independence, Ramakrishnaiah Mandadi used to observe Independence Day and Gandhiji's death anniversary with his own funds every year, on the same 'Gandhi Road'.

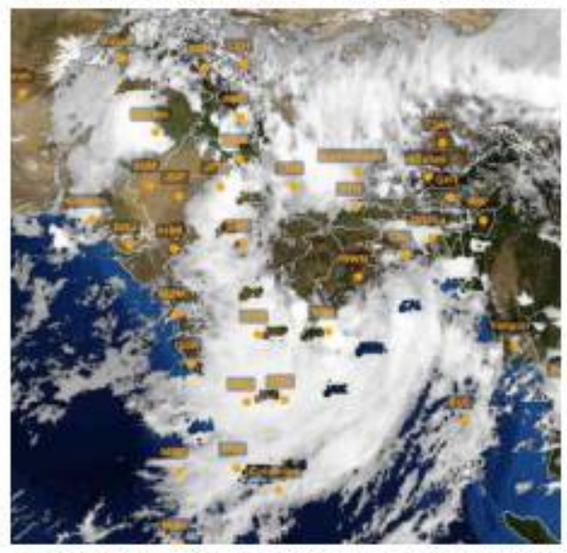
Gandhiji visited Srikalahasti town in May 1929, with a call to boycott foreign clothes. In December 1933, he visited Tirupati again to mobilise funds for the 'Harijan movement'.

It was during this trip that the Mahatma had discussed with the Devasthanam officials on temple entry for Harijans.

Many leaders like Madabhushi Anantasayanam Ayyangar (Tirupati), Vajravelu Chetty (Palamaner), R. Govindaswamy Naidu (Parameswara Mangalam) and T. Ramachandra (Madanapalle) shot to fame later by participating in civil disobedience movement and Salt Satyagraha, but the seeds of nationalism were sown first in this 'Gandhi Road' event.

## WEATHER WATCH

RAINFALL, TEMPERATURE & AIR QUALITY IN SELECT METROS YESTERDAY



TEMPERATURE DATA: IMD, POLLUTION DATA: CPCB, MAP: INSAT/IMD (TAKEN AT 17.00 HRS)

**Forecast for Monday:** Heavy to very heavy rainfall at isolated places likely over East Rajasthan and West Madhya Pradesh; heavy to very heavy rainfall at isolated places over Himachal Pradesh, East Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Goa and heavy rainfall at isolated places over Jammu, Kashmir, Punjab, Jharkhand, Odisha, Assam, Meghalaya and Telangana

| CITY | RAIN | MAX | MIN | CITY | RAIN | MAX | MIN |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Agartala | 1.0 | 33.6 | 26.0 | Kozhikode | – | 33.5 | 25.0 |
| Ahmedabad | 2.0 | 33.1 | 25.2 | Kurnool | – | 31.5 | 24.2 |
| Aizawl | 7.0 | 26.6 | 21.6 | Lucknow | 15.2 | 36.0 | 26.5 |
| Allahabad | – | 34.8 | 26.4 | Madurai | – | 36.0 | 23.5 |
| Bengaluru | – | 28.7 | 19.5 | Mangaluru | 5.0 | 29.4 | 22.4 |
| Bhopal | 15.0 | 29.9 | 23.1 | Mumbai | 11.0 | 30.7 | 24.8 |
| Bhubaneswar | 43.0 | 26.7 | 23.9 | Mysuru | – | 29.0 | 21.1 |
| Chandigarh | – | 35.8 | 29.2 | New Delhi | – | 34.8 | 26.2 |
| Chennai | – | 36.6 | 27.8 | Patna | – | 35.5 | 28.2 |
| Coimbatore | – | 32.6 | 22.5 | Port Blair | 9.0 | 30.6 | 25.8 |
| Dehradun | – | 34.6 | 25.6 | Puducherry | – | 37.2 | 26.8 |
| Gangtok | 97.0 | 26.1 | 17.9 | Pune | 2.0 | 28.2 | 22.0 |
| Goa | 7.0 | 29.2 | 23.8 | Raipur | 29.2 | 28.2 | 24.5 |
| Guwahati | 0.6 | 35.0 | 27.2 | Ranchi | 16.0 | 29.8 | – |
| Hubballi | – | 27.0 | 21.0 | Shillong | – | 26.3 | 19.0 |
| Hyderabad | – | 30.6 | 21.6 | Shimla | – | 27.0 | 21.2 |
| Imphal | 5.0 | 27.5 | 20.8 | Srinagar | – | 32.4 | 19.8 |
| Jaipur | 49.0 | 31.7 | 24.5 | Thiruvananthapuram | – | 30.2 | 24.3 |
| Kochi | – | 30.2 | 24.8 | Tiruchi | – | 37.1 | 26.5 |
| Kohima | – | 26.4 | 18.0 | Vijayawada | 3.0 | 33.8 | 25.2 |
| Kolkata | 3.0 | 34.0 | 26.8 | Visakhapatnam | 4.0 | 30.6 | 26.0 |

(Rainfall data in mm; temperature in Celsius)

**Pollutants in the air you are breathing** — **Yesterday**

| CITIES | SO₂ | NO₂ | CO | PM2.5 | PM10 | CODE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ahmedabad | 18 | 26 | 92 | 46 | 87 | |
| Bengaluru | 21 | 30 | 119 | – | 38 | |
| Chennai | 9 | 18 | 20 | 43 | 59 | |
| Delhi | – | 12 | 79 | – | 234 | |
| Hyderabad | 7 | 4 | 114 | 13 | 25 | |
| Kolkata | 11 | 5 | 9 | 21 | 20 | |
| Lucknow | 7 | 29 | 78 | 34 | 43 | |
| Mumbai | 25 | 1 | 48 | 24 | 426 | |
| Pune | – | – | – | – | – | |
| Visakhapatnam | 14 | 41 | 27 | 41 | 73 | |

In observation made at 4.00 p.m., Nandesari, Gujarat recorded an overall air quality index (AQI) score of 163 indicating a moderate level of pollution. In contrast, Shillong, Meghalaya recorded a healthy AQI score of 18

Air Quality Code: Poor Moderate Good (Readings indicate average AQI)

**SO₂:** Sulphur Dioxide. Short-term exposure can harm the respiratory system, making breathing difficult. It can affect visibility by reacting with other air particles to form haze and stain culturally important objects such as statues and monuments.

**NO₂:** Nitrogen Dioxide. Aggravates respiratory illness, causes haze to form by reacting with other air particles, causes acid rain, pollutes coastal waters.

**CO:** Carbon monoxide. High concentration in air reduces oxygen supply to critical organs like the heart and brain. At very high levels, it can cause dizziness, confusion, unconsciousness and even death.

**PM2.5 & PM10:** Particulate matter pollution can cause irritation of the eyes, nose and throat, coughing, chest tightness and shortness of breath, reduced lung function, irregular heartbeat, asthma attacks, heart attacks and premature death in people with heart or lung disease

# Karnataka govt. under fire for dropping Nehru, Tipu from list of freedom fighters

## Not included because ex-PM was responsible for Partition, says BJP

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT
BENGALURU

The dropping of Jawaharlal Nehru from the list of freedom fighters in the State government's media advertisement that appeared on Sunday came under sharp criticism from progressive writers and the Congress, which sought an apology from Chief Minister Basavaraj Bommai. The ruling BJP, however, defended it, stating that Nehru was dropped as he was responsible for Partition.

In an open letter to the Chief Minister, a host of progressive thinkers and writers said that dropping Nehru was shocking and showed that the BJP government in the State was working for RSS.

"This is the next step after attempting to tweak and twist history in textbooks and an attempt to erase Nehru from the pages of history. To not acknowledge Nehru's contribution in the freedom struggle and as Prime Minister is an insult to history. The BJP government is struggling to peddle lies as history. Absence of Tipu Sultan in the list of freedom fighters from Karnataka smacks of the BJP's pre-conceived notion," they said.

Siddaramaiah

Telling the Chief Minister that dropping Nehru from the list of freedom fighters displayed cheap politics, Leader of the Opposition in the Legislative Assembly Siddaramaiah said: "Is this the level of slavery to safeguard the chair? When we thought slavery ended with the British, Mr. Bommai proved everyone wrong by showing that he is still a slave to RSS. Mr. Bommai, why did you drop the name of RSS founder K.B. Hedgewar, who was imprisoned in 1921 and 1931? Because his opposition to tricolour flag would tumble out?"

Taking to Twitter, he said: "Mr. Bommai you should remember that Nehru took part in the freedom struggle and spent 9 years in jail. He was not a coward like your V.D. Savarkar to apologise and fall at the feet of Britishers to get out of jail. Savarkar gets position in the front row. But Baba Saheb who fought for freedom by being the voice of marginalised sections gets placed in the last row." Only Savarkar's name from the sangh in the list of freedom fighters also laid bare the Sangh's contribution to freedom struggle, he added.

The former Chief Minister demanded an apology from Mr. Bommai for insulting Nehru by not including him among freedom fighters in the advertisement that had been issued from the taxpayers money.

KPCC president D.K. Shivakumar also demanded an apology from the Chief Minister and said that such petty politics would not bring honour to the Chief Minister's chair.

"You have made an unsuccessful attempt to tweak history," he said.

BJP spokesman N. Ravikumar, MLC, told reporters that Nehru's name had been deliberately dropped by the government as he was responsible for the Partition. "Since the country is observing the dark days of Partition, Nehru was dropped deliberately." Mr. Ravi Kumar also said that Tipu Sultan was not a freedom fighter and, in fact, he had sent Wadiyars of Mysuru, who were freedom fighters, to jail.

### HDK reaction

Meanwhile JD (S) leader and former Chief Minister H.D. Kumaraswamy described the episode of leaving out Nehru from the list of fighters in media advertisements as the "height of narrowmindedness".

Stating that Nehru and his family had made immense contribution to the freedom struggle, Mr. Kumaraswamy maintained that it was not proper to drop his name from the freedom fighters' list. One should remember that Nehru had steered the country forward during tough times when the country had just got freedom, he said.

# Murmu invokes Kuvempu in address

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT
BENGALURU

President Droupadi Murmu invoked Jnanpith award winning Kannada poet K.V. Puttappa (Kuvempu) in her maiden address to the country on the eve of the Independence Day on Sunday.

"The great nationalist poet Kuvempu, who enriched Indian literature through Kannada language, had written: *Naanu aliwe, Neenu aliwe, Namma elubugala mele Mooduvudu - Mooduvudu Navabharatda leele*, which means I will pass. So will you. But on our bones will arise the great tale of a new India," she said.

"This is a clarion call of the nationalist poet for making total sacrifice for the motherland and upliftment of fellow citizens. To follow these ideals is my special appeal to the youth of the country who are going to build the India of 2047," she said, before concluding her speech.

Kuvempu • FILE PHOTO

"Our beloved country has given us everything we have in our life. We should pledge to give everything we can for the sake of safety, security, progress and prosperity of our country. Our existence will become meaningful only in building a glorious India," she said.

These stanzas of poet Kuvempu have been picked from *Panchajanya*, an anthology of poems, brought out in 1929 by the highly respected poet known for rationalism.

# Madhuswamy's 'govt. not functioning' remarks cause embarrassment to BJP

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT
BENGALURU/MYSURU

A purported audio of Law and Parliamentary Affairs Minister J.C. Madhuswamy, who is heard telling that "the government is not functioning " has gone viral on social media, causing embarrassment to the BJP government. It has also brought to light the internal discard in the party government as it has triggered a counter-attack at Mr. Madhuswamy by Cooperation Minister S.T. Somashekhar.

The Minister's purported conversation with one Bhaskar, a resident of Channapatna, on phone that has been recorded and now leaked, shows the comments of the Law Minister on the functioning of the government.

"The government is not working. We are only managing. Because it is only eight months [for State Assembly elections] we are just managing," Mr. Madhuswamy is heard telling Mr. Bhaskar, who had complained to the Minister about the farm loan disbursal in VSSN Bank. Mr. Bhaskar complains to the Minister that the bank was charging ₹1,300 for renewal of the loan of ₹50,000, and sought action against such collection.

In response, Mr. Madhuswamy is heard saying: "I know all that you are saying. It is not only in your village but this is happening across the State. We have brought it to the notice of Cooperation Minister S.T. Somashekar. But what can we do if he is yet to take action. They are putting additional cess on the loan and recovering interest. They have not spared me either?" Reacting sharply to Mr. Madhuswamy's purported remarks, Mr. Somashekar said in Mysuru that the State government under Chief Minister Basavaraj Bommai was implementing hundreds of programmes in all departments and Mr. Madhuswamy himself briefed the media about the same after the Cabinet meetings that were routinely held on Thursdays. "Did he not know that the government was crawling whenever he briefs the media? Why couldn't he have said the same then (when he briefs the media)" he remarked.

Further, Mr. Somashekar said the Minor Irrigation Department that Mr. Madhuswamy heads may be limping if he was saying so.

The Cooperation Minister said Mr. Madhuswamy was under the impression that there were no experts in the State. "He thinks he alone is an expert and he alone is intelligent and knowledgable. He should remove such a thinking from his mind," Mr. Somashekar said, while pointing out that the Cabinet had a lot of experienced people.

### Congress posers

Criticising the government, the Congress asked: "Is this an allegation against his own government or is it helplessness of Minister Madhuswamy or is it dissatisfaction against the governance?" It is unfortunate that the double-engine government has broken down. "Has it come to such a situation that the double-engine government to just manage?" Congress questioned.

# Kerala gears up for Nehru Trophy race

STAFF REPORTER
ALAPPUZHA

Arrangements are in full swing for the Nehru Trophy Boat Race (NTBR). Registration of boats for this year's Nehru Trophy Boat Race, to be held at Punnamada on September 4, will be held from August 20 to 25.

The captains' clinic is planned for August 27 morning. Allocation of tracks and heats, which will be done through a draw of lots, will be held in the afternoon of the same day.

### Budget

The Nehru Trophy Boat Race Society, the organiser of the event, has proposed a budget of ₹2.4 crore for this year's event. The Tourism department will provide ₹1 crore as a grant for the race.

The organisers said that they were in process of finding additional funds through sponsorships and other means. Online ticket sale (https://nehrutrophy.nic.in/pages-en-IN/online_ticket.php) which began last week is getting a good response. Ticket sales through counters in different parts of Kerala will begin on August 16. Ticket price ranges from ₹100 to ₹3,000.

### After two years

The Nehru Trophy Boat Race will also be the first race of this year's Champions Boat League (CBL). Both the Nehru Trophy Boat Race and Champions Boat League will be held after a pandemic-induced gap of two years. The race was last held on August 31, 2019.

A total of nine snakeboats and clubs have qualified for this year's CBL.

# 3 stolen idols traced to a U.S. museum

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT
CHENNAI

The Idol Wing CID has traced three idols, which had gone missing from a temple in Tiruvarur district over 50 years ago, to a museum in the U.S.

Officials are planning to bring the idols back through the UNESCO treaty soon. While investigating cases that had been pending for several years, the wing looked at the idol theft case registered in the Vikrapandiyam police station by the Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowment (HR&CE) Department in February 2017.

According to the complaint, three metal idols of Vishnu, Sridevi and Bhudevi from the Venugopala Swamy temple at Alathur in Tiruvarur had been missing. It further said that 12 idols belonging to the temple were placed in the custody of Tiruvarur Icon Centre for secure possession. However, it was found that these three idols were replaced with fake ones. Since the case registered in 2017 had not made much headway, a police team, headed by Deputy Superintendent of Police Chandrasekaran, was formed to carry out a probe.

Vishnu idol, which was stolen from Venugopala Swamy temple.

Having no original pictures of the three stolen idols, the Idol Wing police decided to check photographs and documents available with the French Institute of Pondicherry (IFP), and based on those pictures, the team then began looking at images uploaded on websites of museums worldwide, to check for resemblance with the stolen idols.

During the search, they found images of three idols resembling those at the Los Angeles Museum of County Art in the U.S. Experts certified that the idols in the images belonged to the Venugopala Swamy Temple. The team has submitted the papers proving the ownership of the idols to the Tamil Nadu government.

# Vishwanath: Invite Deve Gowda to inaugurate Dasara

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT
MYSURU

Veteran politician and BJP MLC A.H. Vishwanath has suggested that the State government invite the former Prime Minister H.D. Deve Gowda to inaugurate this year's Dasara celebrations in Mysuru.

"The people of the State will be happy if the honour of inaugurating the Dasara festivities is bestowed upon Mr. Gowda in the evening of his public life," Mr. Vishwanath said.

OBITUARY & REMEMBRANCE

DEATH

V.V.GANESH
PARTNER, GHG Associates, CAs

Attained Siva Sayujyam on August 14, 2022.

Deeply mourned by
Smt. Meenakshi, BharaniKrishna, SriKrishna & family

(1961 - 2022) Mb: 8939901960 / 9884138442

DEATH

OBITUARY

Shri H Ramakrishna
Formerly ED(CRL/BEL).
Passed away on 13th August,2022.
Deeply mourned by
Sisters, Brothers, Nephews & Niece
drumahirisave@gmail.com

DEATH ANNIVERSARIES

FOURTH YEAR REMEMBRANCE

SHRI. N.R. SRIDHARAN
Former Director
( Inspection & Investigation)
Ministry of Corporate Affairs
who attained Achoryan Thiruvadi on 15.08.2018
Your Life was a blessing,
Your memory a treasure
you are loved beyond words and missed beyond measure
Your Family
S. MALATHI
Bharath Nallappa, Samahit Nallappa
63850 14000

BANGALORE WATER SUPPLY AND SEWERAGE BOARD

TENDER NOTIFICATION (Through e-Procurement Portal Only)

BWSSB invites tenders from registered eligible contractors for the following works.

Office of the Chief Engineer (WWM)-West, 5th Floor, Cauvery Bhavan, K.G. Road, Bengaluru - 560 009.

| Sl. No. | Division | IFT Number | Amount put to tender / EMD(In Rs.) | Last date & time for Submission of Tender | Date & time for Opening of Tender |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | WWM-STP V.Valley | BWSSB/EE(WWM-STP)V.V/PB/266/ 2022-23 Date: 10.08.2022 | Rs. 82.88 Lakhs / Rs. 1.66 Lakhs | 30.08.2022 upto 5:30 p.m. | 01.09.2022 after 5:30 p.m. |

Sd/- Executive Engineer(WWM-STP).VV

Office of the Chief Engineer (Design), 9th Floor, Cauvery Bhavan,K.G. Road, Bengaluru - 560 009.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | DC & BM | BWSSB/EE(DC & BM)/PB/1989/ 2022-23 Date: 04.08.2022 | Rs. 81,88,300/- / Rs. 1,63,766/- | 30.08.2022 upto 4:00 p.m. | 01.09.2022 after 12:00 Noon |

Sd/- Executive Engineer(DC & BM)

The details regarding the tender and participation in the e-procurement portal process can be obtained by logging on to https://eproc.karnataka.gov.in For further details contact the above office during working hours.

DIPR/CP/RA/1793/2022-23

HAVE SYMPTOMS OF COVID-19? CALL APTHAMITRA ON 14410

Wear Mask | 6 Feet Follow Physical Distancing | Maintain Hand Hygiene

# A nation fighting against all odds

Democracy has endured despite scepticism, but there are some glaring shortcomings; it has to make place for India's distinctive pluralism in envisaging a prospective future

**Valerian Rodrigues**
*was Professor at Mangalore University and Jawaharlal Nehru University*

A polling booth in Dhekiajuli in Sonitpur district, Assam. •REUTERS

While technically India may have become a constitutional democracy only from January 26, 1950, with the promulgation of Constitution, there was a broad agreement across the political spectrum at the time of Independence that it would tread this path. Even those who doubted conditions for the endurance of democracy in India or wrapped it in indigenous cultural metaphors soon reconciled to its constitutional frame spelled out in the next couple of years. Trans-Atlantic scholarly writings, however, persisted with their scepticism of the prospects of parliamentary democracy in India as was their wont prior to Independence. The review columns on W.H. Morris-Jones' *Parliament in India* (1957), which provides a celebratory account of the first general elections (1951-52) and the rooting of parliamentary democracy in India, were invariably laced with amazement at the data marshalled in the book. The reasons for the prevailing scepticism for the prospects of democracy were understandable: A few countries that had embraced parliamentary democracy outside the transatlantic world in the immediate aftermath of World War II, such as Japan and Israel, had done so primarily for external reasons. India was rooting for it against all odds, but on its own terms.

**The challenge**

The challenge before constitutional parliamentary democracy in India was not in proving sceptics wrong, but in the country's capacity to make itself acceptable across its social divide. The most important of these challenges were the following: How to encompass India's proverbial diversity within the fold of parliamentary democracy? How to extend equal citizenship in a social context deeply seeped in inequality while at the same time ensuring steady economic progress? How to make democracy speak to state structures seeped in the ethos of colonial authoritarianism? How to inform democracy with India's rich past? How to heal the wounds inflicted by Partition and reimagine India afresh? Besides, there were few hitherto trodden pathways for India's signature on the world stage that many longed for. The context called for rebuilding institutions from the rubble of colonial withdrawal and the travails of Partition.

**A few countries that had embraced parliamentary democracy outside the trans-Atlantic world in the aftermath of World War II had done so mainly for external reasons. India was rooting for it against all odds, but on its own terms**

**The response**

One of the greatest achievements of independent India was to put together the architecture of its independent polity by piecing together the discourse of the national movement and the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly that elicited a broad consensus across its complex and diversified social layers. This architecture was constructed around ideas of equal citizenship and universal adult franchise, a modicum of autonomy to Adivasi habitats, periodic elections, parliamentary democracy and federal distribution of powers, the executive being responsive to the popularly elected House of the legislature at each level, and an independent but unified judiciary. The President elected by both Houses of Parliament and State Assemblies represented the state. Governors appointed by the federal government and the Upper House of Parliament representing the States were to be the gatekeepers of the unity of the federation. The Constitution upheld basic rights, including minority rights and preferential measures to disadvantaged groups. The state was directed to fulfil a set of positive obligations. An independent Election Commission ensured free and fair elections. And the judiciary was entrusted with arbitration over competing federal claims.

This grand institutional architecture has been shored up through many political and judicial initiatives. These include the removal of hurdles to reservations for the backward classes in education and public employment, the reorganisation and expansion of federal units, curbs on invocation of national emergency, decentralisation of power to local bodies, and the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act. Some States initiated credible measures on land reforms.

While politically fragmented national and State legislatures invoked fear initially, India has been successful in forging stable and effective coalition governments, in spite of a plethora of political parties. An articulate political opposition to the ruling dispensation emerged at all levels of the polity, although it remained fragmented. India also made its transition from a highly state-centric economy to a liberalised order without much ado, while launching new initiatives with regard to social safety nets.

Some measures, much drummed up at the time of their enactment, such as the anti-defection law, have not kept their promise. Certain initiatives that began well, such as the Departmentally Related Standing Committees, have largely turned out to be tokenisms. A few others such as the National Commission for Minorities, the Human Rights Commission, the National Commission for Women, and the National Commission for Protection of Child Rights, with their State counterparts, have not explored their full potential. Some of the failures have been ensuring adequate and effective representation to women and minorities in Parliament and State legislatures, curbing electoral malpractices, placing Centre-State relations on an even keel, judicial oversight over the executive, and the inability of the national and State legislatures to hold the executive accountable and assert their institutional autonomy from political parties.

**Flaws and failures**

Some of the glaring shortcomings of India's democracy, however, lie elsewhere, in binding the polity into a common bond. It is yet to grapple with its distinctive pluralism and make place for it in envisaging its prospective future. Incidentally, pluralism in India is not merely of doctrines and beliefs but also of languages and ways of life that are often overladen with unequal access to resources, opportunities and freedoms.

A second concern is the social and economic divide and the kind of resources and powers that either side commands, particularly at the extremes of this divide. While we may play jugglery on who is below or above the poverty line, India is yet to squarely face the relative precarity of social life at one extreme and the splurge of resources at the other. Worse still, this divide is only growing rapidly. There are all kinds of schemes now paraded as social safety nets against this precarity. But their impact has been largely on ensuring survival and not a quantum jump in the quality of life.

A third concern is the deplorable state of public accountability and oversight. Public corruption is only one of its manifestations. The failure to engage with this concern has largely turned Parliament and most State legislatures into registries for decisions made elsewhere and chambers for political catharsis. Given the weakening of the frame of law, the court often becomes a bystander with its hands tied. Lack of accountability is particularly glaring in domains which Indian democracy embraced as its special concerns under the Directive Principles of State Policy. Partisan interests that have routinely evaded the law - rural strongmen, urban kingpins, caste and community heavy-weights, religious entrepreneurs and shady corporates - have often thrived in Indian polity, sometimes finding a safe berth in state institutions.

A fourth concern is the way India is groping with its past. A large number of modern Indian thinkers drew attention to its past and strove to inform nationalism with it. In the euphoria of early days of Independence there was not much attention paid to explore its complexity. Increasingly, actors deploy the past to score brownie points over their adversaries instead of seriously engaging with it to keep faith in our present and look ahead.

# A new phase of one-party dominance

The evolution of India's political party system, from Congress dominance to the Bharatiya Janata Party's, has been driven by the first-past-the-post rule and federalism

**E. Sridharan**
*is at the University of Pennsylvania Institute for the Advanced Study of India*

Home Minister Amit Shah and Prime Minister Narendra Modi, at the BJP headquarters in New Delhi •R.V. MOORTHY

This article will attempt to survey the four-phase evolution of the Indian party system over the past 75 years from one-party dominance for four decades at the national level, but which includes a substantially parallel phase of the rise of regional parties at the State level, to a quarter-century of hung Parliaments and coalition and minority governments, to the emergence of a new phase of one-party dominance since 2014. It will attempt to outline the driving forces of the evolution.

**A time of Congress majorities**

The Indian party system has evolved through the following four phases. The first phase, 1952-67, consisted of the first four general elections of 1952, 1957, 1962 and 1967 with which most State Assembly elections coincided. It was characterised by comfortable majorities – two-thirds majorities of seats in the first three elections – won by the Congress based on pluralities of 44-48% votes in the first three of these against a fragmented and disunited opposition. The same pattern was repeated simultaneously in nearly all the States. However, in 1967 though the Congress won a majority with just over 40% of the votes, and saw a consolidation of opposition parties from then onwards in more and more States.

The second phase, 1967-89, saw the consolidation of the opposition vote behind some single major opposition party or coalition, State by State, for both the Lok Sabha and Assembly elections, particularly the latter, leading increasingly to the bipolarisation of State-level party systems into one of the following patterns: a two-party system, one party versus a coalition, or two opposed coalitions, with third and lesser parties playing a minor role. This bipolarisation of State-level party systems, thus strengthening a variety of opposition parties across States, was the driving force of the fragmentation of the Congress-dominated national party system.

However, this bipolarisation trend was one of multiple bipolarities – the Congress versus the Bharatiya Jan Sangh/Bharatiya Janata Party (BJS/BJP) in some States (Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh, Delhi) from 1967, the Congress versus the Left in West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura, the Congress versus a regional party in Tamil Nadu and Punjab from 1967, in Andhra Pradesh from 1984, in Assam from 1985, to name prominent cases.

By 1989, the classic Congress system of hegemonic dominance against a fragmented opposition at the State level remained in place only in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Haryana, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Odisha. However, despite bipolarisation and the rise of a range of national (BJP, Left) and regional opposition parties in a range of States - and regional and Left parties forming governments in such States – the Congress continued to win majorities based on vote share pluralities in general elections during this phase except for the 1989 election (and except for the exceptional, post-Emergency 1977 election when the Janata Party, a merger of five opposition parties, won a Congress-like victory in reverse, i.e. a majority based on a vote share plurality).

**Duvergerian dynamics**

This process was in essence the playing out of Duvergerian dynamics in India's first-past-the-post (FPTP) electoral system (technically, in a single-member constituency, simple plurality system) in a federal polity in which significant powers to the States provided incentives to form parties at the State level for the capture of power at that level. To that, one can add linguistic and cultural identities as mobilisers given the linguistic reorganisation of States from 1956. French political scientist Maurice Duverger's "law" proposed that in an FPTP system voters would not waste their votes on third and lesser parties which did not have a realistic chance of winning and would typically be underrepresented in terms of seats compared to votes. They would vote strategically for the party that seemed to be capable of defeating their least liked party. Such voting behaviour would over time lead to a two-party system by reducing third and lesser parties to relative insignificance in votes and more so in seats. Duverger's argument was intended for the constituency level but is applicable at the State level in federal polities as such elections are also won by having at least a plurality of votes for the winning party (with rare exceptions like, for example, the Madhya Pradesh Assembly election in 2018 won by the Congress though the BJP was a whisker ahead in vote share). Duvergerian dynamics from 1967 onwards led over time to bipolar, if not precisely two-party, systems in State after State as opposition votes tended to consolidate behind the most credible challenger to the Congress.

The third phase, 1989-2014, particularly 1996-2014, was one of no single party getting a majority and consequently of coalition and/or minority governments (coalitions from 1996 to 2014 were minority coalitions dependent on outside support) at the Centre with major participation by regional parties both in governing coalitions directly and as external supporters. During this phase, the Duvergerian dynamic of bipolarisation at the State level continued to play itself out in more and more States such that almost all except notably U.P. became bipolar party systems by 2014. However, in this phase the Congress vote share plurality, which continued in all elections from 1989 to 2009, no longer converted into a majority of seats, leading to the formation of non-single party majority governments throughout this 25-year phase.

**The Congress's decline, BJP's rise**

The post-1989 period saw the emergence and playing out of three megatrends. First, the jagged decline of the Congress vote share from just under 40% in 1989 to just under 20% in 2014 and 2019, with partial recoveries in 2004 and 2009, creating space for the growth of regional parties and the BJP. Second, the jagged rise of the BJP vote share from 11% in 1989 to 25% in 1998 followed by a dip to 19% in 2009 to a steep jump to 31% in 2014 and 37% in 2019, almost where the Congress was in 1989.

The BJP expanded across States by skilful playing of the pre-electoral coalition game, enabling it to be allotted more and more seats to contest in alliance, and eating into the base of existing parties and emerging from a third party status to being one of the two leading parties in more and more States with bipolar party systems. Third, the large presence of non-Congress and non-BJP parties, which are overwhelmingly single-State regional parties, with an aggregate share ranging from 44% to 53% throughout this period, indicating great political diversity across States. In fact, the rise of regional parties is even more pronounced given that the Left, which is included in this broadly third-party category, declined over this period, particularly after 2004.

The fourth phase in the evolution of the party system at the national level is the new BJP-led one-party dominant system that has emerged since 2014, with the BJP, helped by pre-electoral coalitions, winning seat majorities of 282 and 303 seats, respectively, in 2014 and 2019, based on 31% and 37% vote share, the 2014 figure being the highest vote-to-seat conversion ratio of 1.65 (52% seats for 31% votes) in any Indian election to date.

This new one-party dominance of the BJP has not yet reached the level of hegemony enjoyed by the Congress in its four-decade (except for the Janata Party period) dominance by three measures. First, the BJP has not crossed the 40% vote share mark which the Congress never fell below till 1989 with the exception of 1977. Second, the BJP's dominance is not yet the case in almost all States unlike the Congress in its heyday, never having won in four southern and two eastern States and one northwestern State on its own. Third, the BJP majorities in 2014 and 2019 were partly dependent on vote transfers from pre-electoral allies in key States (of the 303 seats it won in 2019, 42 were from Maharashtra, Bihar and Punjab, fought in alliance with key partner parties).

**Question for 2024**

Will the BJP increase its vote and seat shares to further consolidate its hegemony and approach the kind of hegemony the Congress enjoyed in its heyday? This will depend on consolidating in its north, central and western, and more recently, northeastern State strongholds and also being able to make further inroads into the south and east to win pluralities in State and parliamentary elections either by autonomously increasing its base and/or by attracting legislators and their support bases from other parties one way or another. It will also depend on opposition consolidation or the lack thereof in State after State. We will have to wait another two years for the results of the strategies of both the ruling and opposition parties.

**This new one-party dominance of the BJP has not yet reached the level of hegemony enjoyed by the Congress in its four-decade dominance**

BEST SERVICE ★ ASSURED LOWEST PRICES - SINCE 1971

GIRIAS
THE CONSUMER DURABLE PEOPLE
Since 1971

MEGA FREEDOM SALE
BIGGEST DISCOUNTS ★ BIGGEST BRANDS

Upto 20% CASH BACK
AXIS BANK · ICICI Bank · sbi card · Standard Chartered · HDFC BANK

Upto 75% OFF

RESPECT SALUTE!!
TO ALL THOSE WHO SERVE THE NATION.
Army, Navy, Airforce, Police, Doctors, Nursing Staff, State & Central Government Employees.

FREE
Exclusive Gift Worth ₹1990
On All Purchases Above ₹10,000
(Please Bring Your Id Card).
Offer valid only today.

ALL STORES OPEN
FROM 9:30AM - 11PM TODAY

WISHING EVERYONE, HAPPY 75 YEARS ON INDEPENDENCE

PAY JUST ₹1 TAKE HOME*

FINANCE BONANZA
UPTO ₹7,500 CASH BACK*

ASSURED GIFTS ON ALL LG PRODUCTS*
BT SPEAKER · INDUCTION COOKER · STEAM IRON · KETTLE · DRY IRON

1 EMI FREE*

EXCHANGE
UPTO ₹20,000 OFF ON EXCHANGE OF OLD TELEVISION & HOME APPLIANCES*

24 HOURS EXPRESS DELIVERY*

BUY ANY LAPTOP & GET

FLAT 75% OFF*
* ON PURCHASE OF ZEBRONICS METALLIC SMART WATCH WORTH ₹8,499

BUY ANY MOBILE & GET

FLAT 75% OFF*
* ON PURCHASE OF ZEBRONICS TWS EARBUDS WORTH ₹2,999

BUY ANY WASHING MACHINE & GET

FLAT 52% OFF*
* ON PURCHASE OF KENSTAR DRY IRON WORTH ₹945

BUY ANY LED TV & GET

FLAT 64% OFF*
* ON PURCHASE OF ZEBRONICS 5.1 SOUNDBAR WORTH ₹41,999

BUY ANY REFRIGERATOR & GET

FLAT 57% OFF*
* ON PURCHASE OF KAFF CHIMNEY WORTH ₹21,990

BUY ANY DRYER & GET

FLAT 59% OFF*
* ON PURCHASE OF KENSTAR INDUCTION COOKER WORTH ₹3,300

BUY ANY KITCHEN APPLIANCE & GET

FLAT 70% OFF*
* ON PURCHASE OF ZEBRONICS SMART WATCH WORTH ₹4,299

BUY ANY MICROWAVE & GET

FLAT 47% OFF*
* ON PURCHASE OF USHA ROOM HEATER WORTH ₹1,890

BUY ANY DISHWASHER & GET

FLAT 43% OFF*
* ON PURCHASE OF ZEBRONICS TRIMMER WORTH ₹999

BUY ANY AIRCONDITIONER & GET

FLAT 53% OFF*
* ON PURCHASE OF 32 HD READY LED WORTH ₹19,990

BUY ANY HOME THEATRES/SOUND BAR & GET

FLAT 70% OFF*
* ON PURCHASE OF ZEBRONICS BLUETOOTH HEAD PHONE WORTH ₹1,799

NEW LAUNCH @ GIRIAS
SAMSUNG
FREESTYLE PROJECTOR SP LSP3B


SALE PRICE: ₹86,990

LG · SAMSUNG · SONY · Panasonic · TCL · Haier · ONIDA · IFB · Godrej · SANSUI · Whirlpool · BOSCH · PHILIPS · hp · acer · DELL · Lenovo · ASUS · vivo · oppo · ONEPLUS · mi · iPhone · JBL
SIEMENS · HAFELE · Symphony · HAVELLS · USHA · DAIKIN · HAVELLS · GENERAL · Prestige · VOLTAS · VOLTAS beko · Butterfly · Preethi · ULTRA · EUREKA FORBES · pureit · Livpure · FABER · KENSTAR · BAJAJ · Crompton · ZEBRONICS · KAFF

ATTIBELE PH: 99009 77747 | HEBBAGODI PH: 90350 50023 | BHARTIYA MALL PH: 70900 00981 | MANTRI MALL PH: 95919 25353 | KENGERI PH: 99009 77712 | SAHAKARANAGAR PH: 90199 29882 | DODDABALLAPURA PH: 77602 12888 | ELECTRONIC CITY PH: 9591103536 | KANAKAPURA ROAD PH:9008220739 | JALAHALLI CROSS PH: 90082 20804 | RT NAGAR PH: 91080 65665 | BANASHANKARI PH: 9035499199 | BANNERGHATTA ROAD PH: 9035422500 | BRIGADE ROAD PH: 90354 99066 | BASAVANGUDI PH: 90354 99244 | GANDHINAGAR PH: 9035499311 | HOSUR ROAD PH: 9035499022 | HRBR LAYOUT PH: 90354 99177 | INDIRANAGAR PH: 9035499255
JAYANAGAR PH: 90354 99077 | J P NAGAR PH: 9606922698 | KATHRIGUPPE PH: 90354 99288 | KORAMANGALA PH: 90354 11200 | MALLESHWARAM PH: 41411663 | MATHIKERE PH: 90352 22377 | MARATHALLI PH: 90354 99011 | MYSORE ROAD PH: 90354 99188 | NAGARABHAVI PH: 90354 99191 | NELAMANGALA PH:9606922798 | RAJAJINAGAR PH: 9035499144 | SADASHIVNAGAR PH: 9035499088 | VIJAYANAGAR PH: 96069 22795 | YELAHANKA PH: 9036001315 | RAMANAGARA PH: 9606922697 | TUMAKURU PH: 90082 18009 | KOLAR PH: 90082 20791 | CHIKKABALLAPURA PH: 9591561669 | HOSUR PH: 04344 243633

BANGALORE: 41411663 ★ BELAGAVI: 99869 22787 ★ DAVANGERE: 9591987864 ★ DHARWAD: 9591987863 ★ HASSAN: 9606922799 ★ HUBLI: 90354 99155 ★ MANDYA: 90082 18157 ★ MANGALORE: 90354 99211 ★ MYSORE: 90354 99399 ★ RAMANAGARA: 9606922697 ★ SHIMOGA: 96069 22796 ★ TUMAKURU: 90082 18009 ★ KOLAR: 9008220781 ★ RAICHUR : 90082 20526 ★ CHIKKABALLAPURA: PH: 9591561669 ★ BALLARI: 9591561000 ★ KALABURAGI : 9591526635 ★ DODDABALLAPURA : 77602 12888 ★ UDUPI : 95911 02828 ★ HAVERI : 232639 ★ CHENNAI: 044 26264233 ★ SALEM: 0427 2330734 ★ COIMBATORE: 0422 2230615/ SIVANANDAPURAM: 9626804222 ★ THIRUVALLUR: 044 27663296 ★ POLLACHI: 04259 220031 ★ HOSUR: 04344 243633 ★ MADURAI: 0452 2343733 ★ TIRUPPUR: 0421 2243633 ★ VELLORE: 0416 6444424 ★ NAMAKKAL: 04286 277433 ★ ERODE: 0424 2223633 ★ PUDUCHERRY: 8939991200 ★ CUDDYNTHAM: 04171 229877 ★ NAGERCOIL: 8939970757 ★ CUDDALORECHERRY: 8939970747 ★ TIRUCHIRAPPALLI: 89399 70734 ★ AMBUR: 8825614480 ★ RAMANATHAPURAM: 8939670749 ★ KANCHIPURAM: 044 2950450 ★ MADURAI: 8939854410 MAYILADUTHURAI: 9159400111100 ★ DHARMAPURI:89399 36222 ★ KARUR : 9939863222 ★ KRISHNAGIRI : 9884910222 ★ THENI : 8939864222 ★ PURASAWALKAM: 88387 46222 ★ PERAMBALUR : 89399 34222 ★ DINDIGUL: 89381 05222 ★ MANNARGUDI: 83632 37771 ★ SIVAKASI: 89381 35222 ★ COIMBATORE: 88384 35222 ★ PUDUKKOTTAI:89382 15222 ★ NEYVELI:9487288884 ★ METTUPALAYAM:8754006263 ★ MARTHANDAM:8939673222 ★ KARAIKUDI:8939616222

*Terms & conditions apply. Finance at the sole discretion of the Finance company.Upto 20% Cashback & 1 EMI off on selected brands and models. Cash Back / vouchers will be credited to the customer bank account / BFL wallet after clearing 3 EMI. Upto Rs.7500 Bajaj cash back / vouchers valid only in selected cities & valid only on Selected REF & AC'S. EMI offer on above products based on 12,18,24 & fixed emi schemes. Exchange offer valid on MRP and Product as to be in good working condition. * GST Extra.

109 MEGA STORES. INDIA'S LEADING CONSUMER DURABLE RETAILER.
SHOP ONLINE @ www.giriasindia.com
facebook
WE SUPPORT ROUND TABLE INDIA LADIES CIRCLE INDIA

M BG-BCE

# The fabric of India's civil-military relations

The future of civil-military relations in the country depends on how far the military resists ideological appropriation

In flood-hit Chennai, in 2015. • AP

**Srinath Raghavan**
*is a historian*

The most salient fact about Indian democracy over the past 75 years is its endurance. Barring the 21-month authoritarian interlude under Indira Gandhi (the Emergency), the forms of a free government have been kept up. There are many reasons why democracy has endured here – unlike in several other postcolonial countries. Important among these is independent India's success in ensuring civilian control of the military.

It is often argued that the Indian armed forces inherited the British tradition of an apolitical military. This is a specious proposition. For one thing, the Pakistan Army was also a legatee of this tradition but went down a rather different route. For another, the colonial military was hardly subservient to the civilians.

The Commander-in-Chief of India was at once the senior-most military officer and the military member of the Viceroy's executive council: effectively, the defence minister. As such he wielded extraordinary authority. Even so imperious a viceroy as Lord Curzon was put on the mat when he sought to reduce the institutional heft of his Commander-in-Chief, Herbert Kitchener. In the years preceding Independence, this civil-military fusion went further with the appointment of the Commander-in-Chief, Archibald Wavell, as Viceroy.

Indian nationalists had deplored this situation for decades. In 1921, Indian members of the Central Legislative Assembly tabled a resolution that the "principle of ultimate supremacy of the civil power" required the Commander-in-Chief to cease being a member of the executive council. Instead, the defence portfolio should be held by a civilian member. The Motilal Nehru report of 1928 went further in calling for a civilian minister of defence, who would be responsible to Parliament.

In 1946, when the Congress formed the Interim Government, it swiftly appointed Sardar Baldev Singh as Defence Minister. Yet, this was just the first step in securing civilian control over the military. To understand why India succeeded, it is useful to compare its experience with Pakistan's.

As a seceding state, Pakistan had only a fraction of the administrative muscle of the Raj. Worse, in the provinces of the new country, the Muslim League had limited political standing. So, Pakistani leaders were from the outset reliant on the military and the bureaucracy. This gave the military outsized importance and the institutional confidence eventually to supplant the political leadership. By contrast, the Congress dominated the politics of independent India at all levels – national, regional and local – and retained a firm grip over the levers of the erstwhile colonial state.

**Partition's impact**

Partition impacted civil-military relations in another way. As Steven Wilkinson has argued in his important book, *Army and the Nation*, it worsened the ethnic imbalance of the army in Pakistan. The colonial army was recruited from a clutch of minority ethnic groups known as the "martial classes": Jat Sikh, Punjabi Muslim, Pathan, Rajput, Jat and so forth. This was designed to ensure the loyalty of the army to the colonisers. After Partition, the Pakistan Army was dominated by Punjabi Muslims and Pathans of the North-West Frontier Province. This ethnic cohesion enabled the Pakistan Army to periodically depose civilian rule.

In the Indian Army, none of the older "martial races" was preponderant. The Indian leadership was also alert to this problem. Nehru directed the Commander-in-Chief in 1946 to initiate urgent reforms to nationalise the colonial army. Recruitment, especially of officers, was to be be widened to reflect the composition of society, so that the armed forces would appreciate the values and aspirations of the country. Paramilitary forces were to be raised to avoid using the army for internal security and to keep it out of politics. To be sure, recruitment by ethnicity continued, especially in the combat arms. Yet, the composition of the army, notably the officer class, did undergo significant change.

**Over the past decade, an important shift has been under way in civil-military relations. This has been occasioned by the political ascendance of a different ideology**

**Norm of civilian supremacy**

A third factor that explains these divergent trajectories is the Indian political leadership's concerted moves to instil the norm of civilian supremacy. On the eve of Independence, the Commander-in-Chief had ordered that the public be kept away from the flag hoisting ceremony. Rescinding this, Nehru wrote to General Rob Lockhart: "In any policy that is to be pursued in the Army or otherwise, the views of the Government of India and the policy they lay down must prevail. If any person is unable to lay down that policy, he has no place in the Indian Army." This set the tone for civil-military relations.

Then again, the norm of civilian control was also eroded in significant ways during the Nehru years. The passage of the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act in 1958 granted the army extraordinary powers and high levels of impunity in "disturbed areas". None of this comported with the spirit of democratic control. Following the defeat against China in 1962, the political class as a whole ceded considerable ground to the military and sought to avoid "operational" matters. Never mind Clausewitz's dictum that war is a continuation of politics.

All said, formal democratic control over the military remained intact. The latter steered clear of politics – even during periods of high political turbulence in the 1970s. Politicians, for their part, refrained from pulling the military into the ruck of politics – even when they sought, as did Indira Gandhi, a "committed" bureaucracy and judiciary.

**A shift is under ēway**

Yet, over the past decade, an important shift has been under way in civil-military relations. This has been occasioned by the political ascendance of a different ideology. The anti-colonial nationalism of the old Congress sought to nationalise the military; the Hindu nationalism of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) seeks to militarise the (Hindu) nation. This was an important objective of Hindu nationalist thinkers starting with V.D. Savarkar and B.S. Moonje.

The Hindu Mahasabha's support for the colonial government during the Second World War was motivated by the desire to secure maximum representation for Hindus in the armed forces. By so doing, they hoped to suffuse the Hindu nation with a martial ethos.

This desire to militarise the nation has, in recent years, led to a concerted drive to project the BJP as the guardian and champion of the military. Narendra Modi's electoral campaign in 2013-14 prominently featured the promise of one-rank one-pension – a move that secured the BJP the broad support of military veterans. A series of other measures followed, all aimed at mobilising both the society and the military under the sign of a muscular nationalism: the appointment of a controversial former Army Chief as a Minister; the "celebrations" on the 50th anniversary of the 1965 war; the construction of a national war memorial; the carefully crafted public narratives around the "surgical strikes" on Pakistan in 2016 and the airstrikes in 2019.

The Agniveer scheme for enrolment in the armed forces is driven by the dire fiscal situation facing the military, but it fits with the larger ideological impulse. Thus, proponents of the scheme claim that it will instil "discipline" in the youth – as though it is the military's job to discipline the country rather than to defend it.

Will this affect civil-military relations in the narrower institutional setting? It depends on how the military leadership responds to these blandishments. Indeed, the future of civil-military relations in India will turn on the extent to which the military resists ideological appropriation and holds firmly to its professional identity.

*The views expressed are personal*

croma | A TATA Enterprise

croma
INDEPENDENCE Sale
Last 2 Days

Great Deals | Up to 24 Months EMI

Up to 20% Cashback*

260L Frost Free Inverter Refrigerators starting
₹18,990

3 Years Warranty
139Cm (55) 4K Smart LED TV
@ ₹29,990

Samsung Galaxy A73 starting
₹38,999*
Price inclusive of Cashback

Buy any Gaming Laptop & Get Samsung Monitor worth ₹14,400 Free

*T&C Apply

Up to 10% Instant Discount on select Credit and Debit Cards
FEDERAL BANK · HSBC · ICICI Bank · IDFC FIRST Bank · one card · standard chartered · YES BANK

Up to ₹7,500 Cashback on Consumer Finance @ Stores
BAJAJ FINSERV · HDFC BANK · HOME CREDIT · IDFC FIRST Bank · kotak · TATA CAPITAL · zest

croma stores | croma.com | TATA NEU

## A tryst with the past

The values envisaged by the builders of India need to be imbibed for sustained progress

Seventy-five years ago, on this day, India's first Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made these remarks in his stirring speech on India attaining freedom at midnight: "The achievement we celebrate today is but a step, an opening of opportunity, to the greater triumphs and achievements that await us. Are we brave enough and wise enough to grasp this opportunity and accept the challenge of the future?" These words ring true even today just as when Independence unshackled India from British rule – a milestone that, in some cases, inspired the birth of other new nation-states across the world, freed from the yoke of colonialism. Independent India embarked upon a new journey, imbued with the vision of its freedom fighters and a mission set on course by the members of the Constituent Assembly who worked on its unique liberal democratic Constitution. There have been significant achievements – a constitutional scheme guaranteeing rights that included freedom of speech, religion and a secular state, implementation of universal adult franchise in periodic elections, a thriving legislature, establishments allowing for a formal separation of powers, a quasi-federal union of States that were reorganised on a linguistic basis, the building of institutions (industrial, educational, medical) that heralded progress, and the unleashing of knowledge and communication sectors that tied India beneficially to the world economy. There have also been missteps and failings – the inability to eradicate extreme poverty and marginalisation even though these did come down dramatically since 1947, the strains in implementing the constitutional order and values, burgeoning communal majoritarianism, which was decidedly rejected by both the freedom fighters as well as the framers of the Constitution, the incomplete nature of decentralisation of power, and rising economic inequality. Today, on the one hand, India stands tall as one of the world's emerging economies with an advantageous demographic dividend, a vibrant democracy that ensures enthusiastic participation in elections, a diverse polity, and a diversified economy. But it also faces humongous challenges. Its people live in a more chaotic world where cooperation and liberal trade relations have taken a beating and where climate change is a challenge. Also, the emergence and consolidation of a dominant political force that seeks to centralise power and homogenise the idea of India has threatened to unravel the constitutional structure of recognition of diversity and inclusion as the means for overall progress. Economic progress through inclusive growth – a process that was accelerated following comprehensive reforms in the early 1990s and the institution of a rights-based approach towards welfare in the mid-2000s – has slowed down in the last few years. Meanwhile, there is an exacerbation of inter-State disparities, with southern and western India delivering better outcomes in education, health care and thoroughgoing economic growth than other regions, an issue that requires careful deliberation in the near future.

The successes and failures of the earlier generations in post-independent India have provided the nation with the pathways to address the challenges of the future. For one, it is clear that neither a statist nor a market-only emphasis on development and growth is ideal. India must continue policies, framed in the 1990s, of allowing entrepreneurial energies to flourish while relying on comprehensive welfare with a rights approach, which was given impetus in the late 2000s, to help utilise its demographic potential. In the early years of Independence, many modern institutions of higher education, industry and health care were built and endured but India missed out on a strong focus on primary health-care and education, a weakness that has led to the persistence of poverty and social marginalisation on the basis of caste. A bottom-up approach to development that should focus on building capabilities of the citizenry through both affirmative actions and state responsiveness would lead to better release of productive forces in the economy. States getting more fiscal latitude and local governments being empowered to implement programmes could go a long way in achieving this. While, since the reforms in 1991, interdependence in a globalised world allowed for the export sectors to flourish, the lack of diversified employment and increased labour productivity in comparison to other countries such as China or South Korea is a failing. As the world transits towards a new industrial revolution in its reliance on technologies such as 5G, the Internet of Things, artificial intelligence, robotics, and green technologies, India must embark upon building significant capabilities in these in a way that does not just result in a few corporations gaining but which allows for more gainful employment and diversification of the economy. In external relations, while India must continue to skilfully navigate the contradictions emerging in the international order with an emphasis on its interests, it should not disavow the time-tested adherence to values – of non-interference, building an equanimous world order and striving for peace – that allowed it to emerge as a leader of the non-aligned world. India has come a long way since 1947 in finding its footing among the comity of nations, but there still needs a lot more distance to be travelled in fulfilling the promise that Pandit Nehru spoke of, on the eve of Independence. India's Independence generation was clear that freedom from British rule was meaningless without a constitutional order that governs a democratic system predicated on social justice, equality and unity in diversity as these were the promises that gained them the intellectual ballast and the support of the people to overcome colonialism. India's progress in the 21st century would depend upon the re-ignition of these values.

# India must protect its hard-won freedoms

Neither authoritarian arrogance nor fomented hatred must be allowed to undermine the unity of the Indian people

MANMOHAN SINGH

SHAIKMOHIDEEN A.

The world's largest democracy is soon to become the most populous country on earth. Therefore, the celebration of 75 years of Independence brings a special responsibility to set global standards in the protection and the promotion of individual and collective freedoms. While every Indian will proudly salute the flag as it flies high, the Tricolour must also remind us of the composite culture which makes us a uniquely great democracy in the world. On this historic occasion, we must resolve to never let our freedoms be robbed by authoritarian arrogance or allow fomented hatred to undermine the unity of the Indian people. That is the best tribute we can pay to our flag.

**A unity that is precious**

India emerged from the chokehold of colonial rule to build a nation from a wide scatter of British-ruled territories and princely States. This unity did not magically materialise overnight. It was the freedom struggle, inspired by Mahatma Gandhi and led by the Indian National Congress, which united Indians across the land to seek an end to foreign rule. This movement united Indians across multiple identities of language, religion, caste, gender and social status. That unity is precious to India and should not be frittered away through communally divisive, linguistically chauvinist, callously casteist and gender insensitive campaigns that will fragment the Indian identity. Such ploys may pay temporary political dividends, by setting Indians against Indians, but they will create craters on India's path to progress as a great nation.

We were robbed of our riches by colonial rule and began our life after Independence as a poor developing country. We rose from that level to become one of the world's leading economies, whose growth is essential to the stability of the global economy. The policy of economic liberalisation, initiated in 1991, had a galvanising effect on our economic growth. At the same time, poverty reduction and the bridging of economic inequalities became a cardinal principle of public policy. As we pursue the path of inclusive economic growth, we should not permit only a select few among India's business leaders to reap the benefits of prosperity while income gaps keep widening.

**Flag divisive politics**

Jobless growth is not a safe bet for any economy. Unemployment not only does not permit the optimal use of our human resources but also creates the breeding ground for social discord and divisive politics. As we move ahead towards the next 25 years of independent India, we must aim to optimally utilise the demographic dividend of a young population through education, skilling, suitable employment and support to young entrepreneurs and innovators. This requires easy mobility across the country for education and employment. Communal and linguistic barriers will hinder such mobility and adversely impact growth. Captains of Indian industry must recognise this danger and raise their voice for national unity, not remain mute spectators when divisive politics are posing a threat to the economy.

India@75

**Uphold scientific tradition**

India adopted excellence in science as a path to progress since the early years of Independence. The national science policy was forward looking. Great institutions of scientific learning and research were established. India's various institutes of technology have won world renown, with many of their graduates leading global enterprises of repute. Our space, oceanography and nuclear programmes have placed us in a select group of nations whose scientific prowess and technological excellence are respectfully acknowledged by the whole world. It would be unfortunate if our scientific institutions, universities and research bodies are undermined through the induction of sub-optimal leadership, whose given mandate is to pursue cultural revivalism at the cost of academic integrity. India has had a proud scientific tradition since ancient times, but that should not become the camouflage for pseudo-science that brings discredit to our scientific community.

In the comity of nations, India won respect for adopting principled positions, opposing colonial rule, leading the Non-Aligned Movement when two power blocs were seeking global domination, espousing human rights and promoting the cause of peace. Our relations with most of our neighbours were cordial. Even when we had conflicts with some, we tried to build bridges of understanding to enable peaceful co-existence. We need to maintain these positions, even as the world witnesses new conflicts and alliances. It is essential for us to be regarded as a reliable and respected friend in most countries of the world, but especially in South Asia. We should not let our foreign policy wobble through dependence on personalised gestures for the camera but follow clear-headed initiatives through wise leadership supported by able diplomats.

**Well-being of the young**

India must focus on enhancing the health, education and skilling of young persons. The recent National Family Health Survey (NFHS-5) reminds us that stunting, undernourishment and anaemia continue to afflict a large percentage of our children and women in the reproductive age group. We need to ensure that the nutrition-specific programmes deliver, even as we advance nutrition-sensitive policies in other sectors, especially water and sanitation.

COVID-19 revealed several weaknesses in our health system. From disease surveillance to provision of health care, we need to strengthen the capacity of health services. There are marked differences in the capacity and performance of health systems across different States. It is essential that States invest more in health and also that centrally sponsored programmes aim to provide greater support to States whose health indicators are lagging. Providing needed health services to all persons, with adequate financial protection, must be the goal of universal health coverage. We must achieve this uniformly across the whole country.

**For the citizen to ponder over**

As a young boy of 14, I experienced both the exhilaration of newly gained independence as well as the painful tragedies that marred the country's partition. I hoped that India would grow strong as a nation without ever again having to experience such discord. Today, I am proud of what India has achieved and am optimistic about the future of this great nation. However, I am also worried about the sectarian slogans and communal slurs that are vitiating social harmony and dividing the people. Alongside, there is also a weakening of institutions which must safeguard democratic freedoms, uphold norms of good governance and shield electoral politics from the onslaught of money power and co-opted state agencies. It is for the citizens of India to protect and preserve the hard won gains of our freedom. Let each one of us reflect on that duty as we raise and salute our flag.

*Dr. Manmohan Singh was Prime Minister of India from 2004 to 2014*

# The moral failings of the developmental state

All politicians in India promise development, yet the state apparatus and political factions in control cause inequality

ADNAN NASEEMULLAH & PRADEEP CHHIBBER

FT

Economic development is a primary means by which the Indian democratic project has legitimated itself. Given an electorate of mostly poor people, no government has been elected without making development – the uplift of the downtrodden through service provision, the creation of individual freedom, and collective opportunity inherent in economic transformation – its primary objective. Unlike archetypal developmental states such as the Republic of Korea, the Indian state after Independence had to accomplish its mandate of development in the context of a diverse and fissiparous democracy that had endured centuries of British colonial domination and the expropriation of its wealth.

This historical context, and the bureaucratic and political processes surrounding the delivery of development outcomes have generated growth but also created significant structural inequities that have taken different forms across India's post-Independence history. The inequity associated with the actions of the developmental state, the corruption, and moral outrage that constitute the state's broken promises to the people has been the driver of waves of political conflict in the Indian polity since Independence. The moral failings of different phases within the trajectory of India's developmental state have inspired collective challenges to the establishment throughout its history.

Critiques of underdevelopment and the promises of development were at the heart of the nationalist movement against colonial rule. For early nationalist thinkers, the idea of India itself was suffused with a claim that it was one economy and one nation, suppressed in the fulfilment of its destiny by an imperial apparatus that sought to keep it divided, while draining its wealth and sending it overseas. The Congress party, when taking the reins of power, legitimated its rule primarily through a solemn promise that it would redress structures of political, economic, and social inequality by deploying the state to implement far-reaching programmes of development. Jawaharlal Nehru, in his famous "Tryst with Destiny" address, pledged the service of a sovereign government to "the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity".

**There was a disconnect**

There was, however, a profound disconnect between the promises and actions of the developmental state in the first quarter-century after Independence. The Planning Commission, chaired by Nehru, drew up ambitious plans for development that entailed significant public and private investment in industry and the encouragement of cooperatives to transform agriculture. For poor peasants and aspirant workers, the solemn promises of development and the dismantling of inequality rang hollow. Structures of domination and pervasive social inequality reigned in practice as the conservative colonial-era bureaucracy and politicians, business elites, and dominant landowners benefitted the most from this developmental state. The abject failures of community development programmes, and sclerotic economic growth led to the political turmoil of the mid-to-late 1960s.

Indira Gandhi changed the nature of the developmental state. She effected a populist resurgence from within the Congress to address the gap between lofty promises of the state and degraded reality. Her appeal, which ended up splitting the party and transforming the nature of party competition, did deliver an overwhelming electoral mandate to her Congress. Indira Gandhi's slogan 'Garibi hatao (eliminate poverty)' and the subsequent 20-point programme conceived of the direct intervention by an empowered and enlarged state. The politicised state apparatus was now to address social inequalities through land reform, enforcement of the minimum wage, nationalisation of key industries, and extension of agricultural credit, among many other policies.

**Controlling state resources**

A main legacy of Indira Gandhi's left-populism was that the state presented itself as the antidote to social and economic inequalities. The developmental state now looked different. The state apparatus was engorged, from the national to the State and local levels. Multiple public sector companies emerged at all levels of the economy, from the Centre to the States. Financial institutions – banking and insurance – were now in the hands of state apparatchiks. This system fostered corruption, rent-seeking and the capture of the institutions and resources of the state for the benefit of influential clients.

The increased demand for public resources to satisfy an ever-growing number of clients proved financially unsustainable. The economy underwent several rounds of liberalisation that dismantled some elements of state-directed development in the 1980s, but the basic pattern remained the same. The developmental state was now a state whose resources were allocated by and through political compulsions. And as political fragmentation grew, the pressure to control the remaining state resources for political gain expanded.

The storied liberalisation of 1991 renewed promises of dismantling inequality. Liberalisation offered a new idiom of increased opportunity. When combined with political fragmentation, neoliberal reform yielded crony capitalism, ineffective service delivery, and distrust of the system. Self-help and rights-based discourse now emerged as part of a new language of development. The United Progressive Alliance government expanded welfare-based rights, such as the Right to Education and the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act. But the ambitiousness of these centrally-planned schemes achieved only middling outcomes on the ground, as petty bureaucrats and local rent-seekers influenced their implementation for their ends, thus failing to build a political constituency among the poor around them. The middle classes protested this new developmental state which had created a state-facing inequality, where being "known to" the state and the politicians controlling it increasingly determined life chances and the economic prospects for India's striving citizens.

**Change in 2014**

In 2014, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) leader Narendra Modi won a parliamentary majority by promising to restore opportunity and clean up politics. His main slogan was, 'together, development for everybody.' He attacked the Congress leadership for its corruption, projecting himself as a humble "chaiwallah" and servant of the people. While Hindu nationalist themes were never far from the surface and have become dominant in the BJP's discourse since the 2019 elections, the right-wing populist moment of the 2014 election brought together a broad and unlikely coalition of upper-middle-class professionals and lower-middle-class strivers. These groups were promised the end of inequality of opportunity, which had come to characterise many citizens' interactions with the state in India's "known-to" democracy. While Mr. Modi's treatment of what ails the Indian body-politic has been tremendously polarising, and his own government has been wanting in delivering economic growth, his politics – echoing that of regional populists in India, from N.T. Rama Rao to Jayalalithaa and Mamata Banerjee – tapped into a mood of widespread discontent toward the state's development project.

Since 1991, the Indian state is no longer in the business of keeping the solemn promises of dismantling inequalities. The state now focuses on growth and passing handouts to voters – a policy honed to perfection in Tamil Nadu by the various iterations of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam and the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam.

A developmental ideology is inextricably associated with democratic politics in independent India. The nation's founders made solemn promises to deliver the people from inequity and subjugation – the real meaning of development for democratic India. These ideas have been honoured more in the breach than in observance. Nehru's developmental state could not redress inequalities and failed to grow the economy quickly enough. Indira Gandhi's policies placed the state at the centre of political life. The state was the agent of growth, yet, despite the rhetoric, addressing social and economic inequalities took a back seat. Even while speaking in lofty tones about development, the current regime does not emphasise the state as central to changing social norms and addressing income inequalities.

All politicians in India promise development as a part of democratic deliverance. Yet, the state apparatus and the political factions that control it reproduce inequality. From time to time, populist leaders shine a light on these hypocrisies. Their electoral mobilisations dramatically transform Indian politics without changing the state's ability to deliver on political promises. This highlights the idea that development is the most powerful idiom of Indian democracy, an ideal on which ordinary people across social stations hold governments to account. Development, in other words, is as much a moral commitment as a technocratic undertaking. Development is inextricably linked with the meaning of Indian democracy.

*Adnan Naseemullah and Pradeep Chhibber teach at Kings College, London and the University of California, Berkeley, respectively*

# The marginalisation of the Indian Muslim

The vitiation of the political process has increased the gap between Muslims' legal citizenship and substantive citizenship

**Asim Ali**
*is a political researcher and columnist based in New Delhi*

In Bhopal • A.M. FARUQUI

Shortly after India gained independence, we gave ourselves a Constitution that guaranteed equal citizenship to everyone. Yet, 75 years later, there are growing concerns among Muslims that their citizenship rights might be under threat. Those concerns were reflected not long ago in the protests against the Citizenship (Amendment) Act (CAA), the biggest nationwide mobilisation of Muslims since Independence.

Even though the ruling dispensation has put that contentious legislation on hold, it has not done much to address the anxiety. In fact, the CAA protests were followed by riots in the national capital, followed by an expansive crackdown on Muslim civil society activists. Lately, we have seen the dawn of bulldozer justice. In three Bharatiya Janata Party-ruled States, the bulldozer has been employed as a barely disguised tool of collective punishment in Muslim neighbourhoods. The judiciary has refused to put a stop to this brazen illegality.

**Political accommodation**

These unfortunate developments remind us of the gap between legal citizenship and substantive citizenship. In a democracy, that gap is mediated by the political process, which structures the engagement between citizens and state institutions. Thus, insofar as minorities are concerned, their access to the promised package of civil, socio-economic and political rights is governed by the model of political accommodation of minorities.

The Indian experience of politically accommodating Muslims has been an evolving patchwork of varied models. In Kerala, Muslims have been part of a broader consociationalism framework, having a political party (Indian Union Muslim League) that bargains on behalf on them with the governing coalition. In West Bengal, under the long reign of the Left Front, the large Muslim peasantry was mobilised on class lines through land reforms, and included in the political process through local structures. Similarly, Muslims in Tamil Nadu have been accommodated using broad-based policy platforms, without an emphasis on their religious identity.

In the north Indian model, especially dominant in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, Muslims were conceptually constructed as a homogenous community, politically driven by cultural concerns of protecting their distinct identity. This was the dominant paradigm of secular accommodation followed not just by the Congress, but also by the socialist and caste-based parties of the region. From the 1960s, a category of 'Muslim issues' was established in the political discourse – official patronage of Urdu, minority status of Aligarh Muslim University, Uniform Civil Code, Babri Masjid – and secular parties fashioned themselves as the guardians of these special protections. Alongside, the Muslim religious elite were propped up as the favoured intercessors in the political process, and came to be recognised as the representatives of the community.

At some level, this model was pre-determined by the legacy of Partition, which had de-legitimised certain political demands seen as reminiscent of the politics of the Muslim League. For instance, the Constitution-makers disregarded the demand for proportional representation in electoral competition, as well as the inclusion of Muslim Dalits (and Christian Dalits) in the Constitution scheme of reservation.

Instead of political or material protections, the Constitution favoured cultural protections to minorities in the form of Article 30. This template of dealing with Muslims primarily through a cultural prism has proved to be remarkably resilient.

All models of Muslim accommodation are moulded more by the choices of political elites than by community pressures from below. The Congress can argue that it privileged cultural issues in response to demands of Muslim pressure groups like the All India Majlis-e-Mushawarat. Yet, those very pressure groups had also raised the issues of discrimination in government jobs, unequal access to education and the regular spate of communal violence. These were not emphasised by the political elite because they entailed harder questions of institutional reform and state capacity. Symbolic issues, on the other hand, appeared to have little political costs.

This calculus of political costs received a jolt with the Shah Bano episode. In bowing down to the conservative Muslim clergy, the Congress not only damaged itself, but also allowed the BJP an explosive device to ground its campaign against Muslim 'appeasement'. A survey of anti-Muslim riots in Congress-ruled U.P. in the 1980s (the decade of Shah Bano) should be enough to reveal the hollowness of this charge of appeasement. Several of these riots were in reality massacres committed by the notorious U.P. Provincial Armed Constabulary, such as in Moradabad (1980) and Meerut (1987).

**All models of Muslim accommodation are moulded more by the choices of political elites than community pressures from below**

Riots provide, in fact, a useful lens to gauge different models of Muslim accommodation. The political scientist Steve Wilkinson studied more than five decades of Hindu-Muslim riots, and concluded that the prevalence of riots in a State is inversely proportional to the political bargaining power of the Muslim minority. The inaction of the state which allows riots, according to Wilkinson, stems not from a lack of state capacity but from a lack of political will. The state is more likely to prevent riots when Muslims are an important part of the governing coalition, Wilkinson argued. Further, he demonstrated that riots are less frequent in multipolar States, such as post-Mandal U.P. and Bihar, because Muslims possess more political leverage in such a polity as crucial swing voters.

**Access to socio-economic goods**

However, communal violence is just one parameter on which we can measure the success or failures of different models of Muslim accommodation.The access of Muslims to socio-economic goods is an equally important indicator. On this front, as the Sachar Committee showed, Muslims hover around the bottom of the pile in most States. According to Christophe Jaffrelot and Kalaiyarasan A., the proportion of Muslim youth (in 2017-18) who had completed graduation was just 14%, the lowest among all social groups. The educational attainment was most abysmal in the Hindi-belt States such as Haryana (3%), Rajasthan (7%) and Uttar Pradesh (11%), while the highest rates were found in Tamil Nadu (36%) and Kerala (28%). Of course, part of this variation can be explained by the generally higher state capacity of southern States and historical factors such as the exodus of the Muslim elite from northern Indian States post-Partition. But partly it is also an outcome of the failures of the models of minority accommodation which emphasise protection of cultural identity (the Hindi heartland States) relative to those which emphasise access to material goods (Tamil Nadu and Kerala). As Jaffrelot and Kalaiyarasan note of southern States: "The (Muslim) community's achievements also have to be seen in the context of positive discrimination Muslims enjoy in these States - Dalit and OBC [Other Backward Classes] Muslims are given reservations under the OBC quota."

We have not yet mentioned the BJP model of Muslim accommodation, because the party (and the larger Sangh Parivar) is opposed to the very concept. The BJP conflates any form of Muslim inclusion with 'appeasement', which it holds to be the motor fuel of separatism and communalism. This notion of appeasement is flexible enough to cover even the participation of Muslims in the political process which governs them. Hence, the BJP refused to field a single Muslim candidate in the 403 constituencies of U.P. For the first time in India, a ruling party has no Muslim MLA or MP. As if to underscore the point that the denial of political representation to Muslims is a matter of principle rather than political constraints, the party has even discontinued the practice of nominating token Muslim candidates to the Rajya Sabha.

As the BJP has become the hegemonic force in Indian politics, the clock has been turned back even on the secular politics of Muslim inclusion. In U.P., competitive politics had slowly broken through the model of cultural accommodation, and issues of 'Muslim empowerment' had started to emerge in the political discourse. In the 2012 U.P. elections, the Samajwadi Party and Congress both promised to carve out a separate sub-quota for Muslims within the OBC quota. All that is in the rear-view mirror now, as the issue of security has bubbled up to the forefront of electoral discourse.

It is this vitiation of the political process that is behind the yawning gap between the legal citizenship and the substantive citizenship of Indian Muslims. The most troubling aspect is that 75 years into Independence, this gap only appears to be increasing.

croma | A TATA Enterprise

Croma Collections

Croma 337L 3★ Frost Free Inverter Refrigerator

@ ₹29,990

Croma 7.5Kg 5★ Fully Automatic Inverter Washing Machine

@ ₹29,990

Morphy Richards 750W Mixer Grinder

@ ₹3,990*

LG 7Kg 5★ Fully Automatic Washing Machine

@ ₹19,990*

Price inclusive of Exchange

127Cm (50) Ultra HD Smart LED TV starting

₹25,990

Samsung 1Ton 3★ Split AC starting

₹26,990*

Price inclusive of Exchange

Grooming Gadgets starting

₹599

Party Speakers starting

₹2,299

Amazfit Bip 3 Pro

@ ₹3,999

OnePlus Smartphones starting

₹17,999*

Price inclusive of Cashback

Intel® Core™ i3 Laptops starting

₹28,990

Intel® Evo™ Laptops starting

₹69,990*

Price inclusive of Cashback

*T&C Apply

Buy any Intel Laptop & get a chance to win Intel Evo Laptop or up to 50% Cashback

Brought to you by Intel Evo

20% Off on Screen Protection Plans

# Such a long reckoning

We have splintered our thinking, split up our feelings. We have become a fractious family. On this defining anniversary, we have to face this searing truth

GOPALKRISHNA GANDHI

The Second Round Table Conference in 1931. • THE HINDU PHOTO ARCHIVES

It was a wet and windy September in London. The year was 1931.

M.K. Gandhi, almost 62 years old then, was there to attend the Second Round Table Conference (RTC) as the sole representative of the Indian National Congress. Called by the British government to discuss the prospect of political changes in India, the conclave was showing up the fissures in India's polity. In two other Indian barristers – M.A. Jinnah, leading the Muslims at the Conference, and B.R. Ambedkar, the clear leader of the Depressed Classes – the divides stood out.

The only political change Gandhi and the Indian National Congress required was complete independence. Jinnah, Ambedkar and representatives of India's princes, Sikhs, zamindars and other 'minority interests' sought to tear up Gandhi's claim that the Congress represented an inclusive India which wanted nothing more and could do with nothing less than Swaraj for all Indians, in equality.

On September 18, he penned a statement for *The Daily Mail* describing the genesis and goal of the Indian National Congress: "The Indian National Congress is over forty seven years old. It was conceived by an Englishman, Allan Octavian Hume. It has had, besides Hindus, Mohammedans, Parsi and Christian Presidents. It had two women as Presidents, Dr Annie Besant and Mrs Sarojini Naidu. It has zamindars too, as its members.

"The Indian National Congress... knows no distinction between classes or creeds or sexes. It has always championed the cause of the so-called 'untouchables'...

"But the unchallenged and unchallengeable claim of the Indian National Congress consists in its representing the millions of dumb paupers living in the seven hundred thousand Indian villages who constitute over 85% of the population.

"It is in the name of this great organisation that I claim complete independence for India."

An all-important session of the Minorities Committee was to meet on October 8. Waking up at 3 a.m. that morning, after a very strenuous night and only half an hour's sleep, he wrote out a statement to be read at the Committee: "The Congress has, since its inception, set up pure nationalism as its ideal. It has endeavoured to break down communal barriers... Congress assures the Sikhs, the Muslims and the other minorities that no solution... in any future constitution will be acceptable to the Congress that does not give full satisfaction to the parties concerned."

**Eighty-five years ago**

It was a season of excitement. The year was 1937.

In the elections which came about under the Government of India Act, 1935, a fruit of three Round Table Conferences, the Congress won spectacularly in eight provinces on its own or with allies. Independence with minority rights protected was its motto. The Muslim League failed to win any province but it installed Fazlul Huq's Krishak Praja Party at the head of a Muslim coalition in Bengal. It had done well in Muslim seats (reserved for the community) in Hindu-majority provinces. Its plank was: 'Congress domination is Hindu domination'. Likewise, Ambedkar's candidates did well in the Maharashtra region of Bombay. Their plank was: 'Congress domination is Caste Hindu domination'.

In October of that year Jinnah was asking Muslims in Hindu-majority provinces to recognise 'Hindu domination'. The Congress's concept of swaraj and 'minority satisfaction' was under strain.

**Seventy-five years ago**

It was a hot and humid August. The year was 1947.

Amid unparalleled bloodshed, dispossession and tragedy, Jinnah walked away with Pakistan. He had, according to his lights, stopped Hindu domination in its tracks. Ambedkar had reason to be pleased that his supporters had made it to legislatures in good numbers. The Congress, assuming power at the Centre in an independent if truncated India, had unveiled a secular democracy and was moving towards becoming a federal Republic, where religion was separated from the State, caste was not going to be an obstacle for democratic representation. Minority satisfaction was to be the new democracy's signature.

Today, this topsy-turvy August of 2022, 75 years after Independence, Jinnah's Pakistan is in an electoral shambles, with Bangladesh having loosened itself out of its untenable yoking to Pakistan. India's Dalits, as the Depressed Classes of Ambedkar's time are now more appropriately called, have won a visible political profile in India, though social and economic deprivations remain a torment.

But what about Gandhi's and the Congress's ideal of pure nationalism, representative democracy and minority satisfaction? That ideal is in trouble, dire trouble. And this is not just because the Congress as a party today is a shadow of its past self, or because Savarkar's 1937 'warning' influences several more now than it did in the past. That ideal of pure nationalism is in trouble because majority domination, with caste domination subtly folded into its vocabulary, is being seen by increasing numbers as natural, proper and wholly unexceptionable. 'If democracy is not majority control, what else is democracy?' seems to be their understanding of the political dynamics of our nation. That a democracy is meant to re-assure the smallest, the weakest and the most vulnerable is seen as nursery-rhyme idealism.

But who are 'the minority'? Not just the religious minority but the ecological, ideological, linguistic, ethnic, communities living in the margins of fear, insecurity, uncertainty. But not them alone. Also those who are culturally out-numbered, the lifestyle singular, the 'different', the 'distant', the 'dissenting' as well. Those who, for instance, would want parity in matters of gender and make the Indian woman feel she is man's equal, our courts to be completely insulated from executive influence, our media to be free, our economy to be purged of monopolies.

A religious majority is only one among majorities, albeit a politically determining one. India, as Menaka Guruswamy has so memorably put it, is a majority of minorities. India is not about Hindu India and non-Hindu India. It is about the aspirations of peninsular India, Himalayan India, forest India, desert India, littoral India, coastal India. And the India of the two mountain fastnesses that political geography has made distinctive – Kashmiri India and Northeast India.

Gandhi in London in 1931 spoke for all of these Indias. As did his colleagues in the Congress of that time. Can the Congress or any political party make that claim today? We have splintered our thinking, split up our feelings. We have become a fractious family. On this defining anniversary we have to face this searing truth. And retrieve the 'we' in us as in 'we the people of India', the lifestream of the Constitution of India which protects us and is, in turn, preserved by us. We have to retrieve our unity in freedom and justice. The tricolour being unfurled today on home after home, with its blue in the central wheel of dharma tells us India is home to all Indians equally. 'But how do we do this?' is the question. 'Who is to guide us, lead us?'

**The 'salt of the earth'**

I started this article by citing Gandhi in London in 1931. I will close by citing him in London again, in 1914. He and Kasturba Gandhi had come there at the conclusion of the highly successful satyagraha in South Africa, on their way back home. Speaking to a galactic audience which included visiting Indians such as Lala Lajpat Rai, Sarojini Naidu and M.A. Jinnah, he said: 'We had got the limelight in South Africa but if we merited any approbation, how much more did those who went into the struggle with no thought of appreciation! Harbut Singh was 75 years of age when he joined the struggle and entered prison and died there. The young lad, Narayanaswami, was deported to Madras and on his return, starved and died.

Another Tamil youth, Nagappen, was imprisoned and worked on the African veldt in the bitter cold of winter and died. And Valliamma, a girl of 18, went to prison and was discharged only when she took very ill and died shortly thereafter. Twenty thousand workers had left their tools and work and gone out in faith. Violence was entirely eschewed. It is on these men and women, who are the salt of the earth that the Indian nation that is to be will be built. We are poor mortals before these heroes and heroines.'

Those heroes and heroines have not disappeared. They have only been covered by the dust of neglect and condescension. They are the salt of India's earth we must salute today in hope, faith and solidarity. It is they, as Gandhi said, who got India her freedom. It is they who will keep it free – and just.

*Gopalkrishna Gandhi is a former administrator, diplomat and Governor*

# Changing contexts of caste

The meanings of caste have transformed — as a system regulating life chances, as a mode of political mobilisation, or as a socio-cultural identity

SATISH DESHPANDE

Caste today is active in three main ways. First, it is a system that regulates the distribution of material opportunity or life chances, and hence it is a source of enduring inequalities. Second, it remains one of the primary modes of political mobilisation, even though caste politics is now far more disaggregated, complex and uncertain than it used to be. Third, and perhaps most elusive, for everyone except a small upper-class, upper-caste elite caste continues to be a form of community offering a sense of kinship, belonging and identity. The contexts of caste have changed in ways that affect all three modalities.

**A rise and fall**

The story of caste as a mechanism for regulating material opportunities in independent India can be told in terms of the rise and fall of what might be called the reservation-merit system.

In its original form, 'reservation' was a pre-Independence idea emerging from the Poona Pact of 1932 and codified in the Government of India Act of 1935. It was intended to be an antidote for caste discrimination rather than a remedy for backwardness. But, by the time the Constitution of the new Republic was adopted in January 1950, the idea had changed fundamentally.

The new Constitution abolished caste in principle but did not interfere with its practice. Reservation was now positioned as the exception to the general principle of castelessness, and seen as a kind of unearned 'benefit' provided by the state to certain castes. The rest of society was seen as the domain of 'merit', where privileges were assumed to have been earned through talent and hard work. In other words, caste-based allocation of opportunities continued unchecked except for a portion of government jobs and seats in public educational institutions. Unsurprisingly, the benefits of economic development – in both the state as well as the non-state sectors – have flowed in accordance with the caste hierarchy, with the upper castes getting the lion's share. The reservation-merit system was founded on a dichotomy that has now collapsed, as shown by the quota for the Economically Weaker Sections, which effectively provides reservation for merit-*walas*. Today, the role of caste in reproducing economic inequality is plainly visible.

The story of caste as a form of political mobilisation began with its suppression in the years before and after Independence. Caste politics was first confined to the campaign around untouchability and then strangled by the Poona Pact, which effectively ensured that only Dalit representatives acceptable to the upper castes would be elected. Invocation of caste in public was frowned upon in the Nehru era, and the Congress always downplayed caste issues, even rejecting the First Backward Classes Commission report of 1955.

However, universal suffrage had its own logic. Backed by the irresistible force of numbers, backward caste politicians began mobilising their caste constituencies in the 1960s. But the "Congress system" confined them to the regional level, leaving the upper castes free to control national politics as they had in the freedom struggle.

After decades of consolidation in the States, backward caste politics made a dramatic entry onto the national stage in the 1990s. The Mandal turn not only made caste a national issue; it also shattered the myth of caste-as-exception that the Nehru era had nurtured. But the intervention proved unsustainable – the 1990s were marked by unstable coalition governments.

The rise and retreat of lower caste politics at the national level highlights the formidable challenge of aggregating local-regional caste constituencies to capture power at the Centre. This challenge is made more daunting by the increasing internal differentiation within all caste groupings, especially the Other Backward Castes. Another worry is the rapid transformation of the federal structure under the Narendra Modi regime, with the Centre usurping the financial and political powers of the States. A recent example is the repositioning of the Enforcement Directorate as a kind of super-agency, with sweeping powers under the Prevention of Money Laundering Act, endorsed by the Supreme Court of India.

At a time when regional politics is seen as the last hope against an authoritarian and majoritarian regime at the Centre, events such as the change of government in Bihar may bring hope. However, it is hard to overlook the stark contrast today between the successful consolidation of an essentially upper-caste politics at the Centre against the challenges facing lower-caste politics when its State-level strongholds are being undermined.

**Identity-based mobilisation**

The story of caste as a form of cultural identity has been overtaken recently by the phenomenal rise of Hindutva as a passionate, aggressive and almost pan-Indian form of identity-based mobilisation. The idea of development which emphasises shared interests was the ideological cornerstone of the Nehru-Indira-Rajiv Congress era, and also the main plank of Narendra Modi in 2014. The 2019 Modi regime has inaugurated a phase of Hindutva which emphasises a shared adversarial identity. This weaponised form of Hindutva would be expected to be the natural enemy of lower-caste politics because of the inevitable tension between horizontal Hindu unity and vertical caste hierarchy. Moreover, given that both the Bharatiya Janata Party and the Sangh Parivar are dominated by upper castes, Hindutva has traditionally been marked as upper caste.

Demographic compulsions require Hindutva to seek substantial support from the lower castes. The central question of our time is whether it will succeed in this quest. How far will the upper-caste core supporters of Hindutva be willing to go to persuade lower-caste Hindus to join their movement? Until now, concessions made to lower-caste sensibilities have been limited to tokenism, ranging from the highlighting of Narendra Modi's nominal OBC identity, or the noisy appropriation of national icons such as Ambedkar or local ones like Suheldev. Will more substantial gestures be made? Will the lower castes accept these overtures and agree to be foot-soldiers?

The answers to these questions will determine the directions that caste will take in the near future.

The contexts of caste have changed a lot in the last 75 years, transforming its meanings, whether as a system regulating life chances, a mode of political mobilisation, or a form of socio-cultural identity. But whether it is the lower castes who resist Hindutva or the upper castes who lead it to hegemony, caste itself will retain its central role even if it is enacted behind the curtain.

*Satish Deshpande teaches sociology at Delhi University. The views expressed are personal*

# In a system of asymmetrical federalism, India must remain a mosaic

Asymmetrical federalism will continue to have its relevance; various groups need to be accommodated and provided with a share in governance

REKHA SAXENA

As India completes 75 years of Independence this August, the time is apt for us to look at the constitutional, institutional, political and fiscal arrangements that take into account the plurality of our country. It is a nation where four major religions of the world find abode; its Muslim population is the third largest in the world; and Indians speak languages belonging to five different families. Such diversity and plurality call for an arrangement that can pave the way for accommodation and integration reflected in the existing system of asymmetrical federalism.

India is not the only country with asymmetrical arrangements in its federal setup. Belgium, Germany, Canada and Spain are among other such examples. Thus this normative idea is neither new nor only locally relevant. As a matter of fact, in the neoteric time, we see governments formulating federal policies to deal with State-specific issues and concerns. And if one looks clinically at the Indian model of asymmetrical federalism, one can gauge it based on the principle of weighted and differentiated equality. This principle calls for equal treatment of all States while being mindful that some States are more equal and unequal than others. So, the capacity to accommodate various social groups and their interests makes India a thriving federal democracy as it displays enormous asymmetric characteristics.

**Protecting diversity**

While constructing an asymmetrical framework, our founding fathers chose the salad bowl approach instead of the melting pot approach. Recognising the existing pluricultural society in India necessitated such a choice. Recognising the distinctive cultural differences in the country and permitting self-rule within the scheme of a shared rule to territorially concentrated minorities is how asymmetrical federalism works in India. Such functioning pertains to *de facto* and *de jure* asymmetry, where the former is abundant while the latter is limited. Furthermore, such an arrangement only proves that an asymmetrical constitutional setup is indisputably necessary for a multicultural and multinational country such as India to protect the rights of the community and the minorities. This setup facilitates the accommodation of multiple yet complementary identities.

In this regard, it is necessary to understand the distinction made by Ronald Watts between political and constitutional asymmetry, both of which exist in our country. While in every federal nation the former is based on the territorial and demographic sizes of the constituent units, the latter characterises the Constitution's extension of legislative and executive powers to the constituent units. So when we find representation of States in the Rajya Sabha based on their population, it is a political asymmetry. That is why States such as Uttar Pradesh have 31 seats in the Rajya Sabha, whereas Meghalaya and Mizoram have just one each.

**Self-rule within shared rule**

We find constitutional asymmetry in Article 370 (now diluted) and in the special provisions and powers extended to Nagaland, Mizoram and others in the omnibus Article 371. The parliamentary statute cannot be implemented in the northeast States mentioned above without the consent of the legislatures of these States. Specifically, the provisions under Article 371 requiring the State legislature's permission before implementing any parliamentary law exemplify asymmetrical provisions protecting the religious and social practices, customary laws and procedures of Nagas and Mizos. In addition, creation of the Autonomous District Council as per the Sixth Schedule also acknowledges the socio-cultural, political and historical rights of the tribes of the Northeast, thereby facilitating the provisions of self-rule within the scheme of shared rule.

Furthermore, the Indian asymmetrical setup has evolved to include another type of asymmetry, i.e. Union Territories (UTs). Their establishment is in line with the spirit of federal asymmetry. These are special federating units that have been created multiple times. However, the reasons for their creation have been different. UTs were too small to be declared as States or could not be merged with a neighbouring State due to prevailing cultural dissimilarities, inter-State indifferences, extensive isolation and other specific needs, as in the case of National Capital Territory (NCT). Among all the UTs, Delhi, Puducherry and Chandigarh are distinct examples. Since 2019, we now have Jammu and Kashmir as a UT with a legislative assembly and Ladakh as a UT without.

Delhi's case is in itself a remarkable example of asymmetrical federalism where we witness the appointment of the Chief Minister of Delhi by the President of India on the recommendation of the Lieutenant Governor (LG). This provision is in line with the special status of Delhi as the NCT. However, the difference between Puducherry and Delhi lies in the scope of their jurisdiction. While Puducherry has law-making power over subjects such as land, police and civil services, this is not the case with Delhi. And although there has been a long pressing demand for extending statehood status to Delhi, the Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi (Amendment) Act of 2021 has not solved the conflicts between the LG and the Council of Ministers of the Government of Delhi. On the contrary, the Act makes it mandatory for the Delhi government to undertake any action after permission from the LG. However, for the smooth functioning of the asymmetrical federal setup, it is imperative to carry out the NCT's administration through cooperation, not confrontation.

**On fiscal arrangements**

Another significant asymmetry is the fiscal arrangements enshrined in the Constitution. When transferring funds from the Centre to States, statutory transfers are made based on the recommendations of the Finance Commission. Also, while the Central government entirely funds specific Central sector development schemes in India, the cost of implementing Centrally sponsored schemes to bring about welfare is co-shared by both the Centre and sub-national units. In the NITI Aayog era, the Centre has considerably reduced the share of its revenue to implement the Centrally sponsored schemes.

Since 2019, many have questioned asymmetrical federalism's pertinence, ignoring its effectiveness in recognising and promoting self-rule in multiple territories across India. It all began with the dilution of Article 370 in 2019 and the subsequent debates and discussions over the dilution of the omnibus Article 371. These provisions in our Constitution are special arrangements reflective of asymmetrical features.

We must remember that the idea and arrangement of asymmetrical power-sharing can be unsettling if not utilised properly. Such features in our Constitution are neither marginal nor merely provisional. These features touch upon a considerably large number of States. And without these features and provisions, it would not have been possible to undermine the secessionist tendencies of a highly diverse society. Asymmetrical federalism will continue to have its relevance in the future because to pave the way for cooperative federalism we must be able to accommodate various groups and provide them with a share in the governance of the country at the same time.

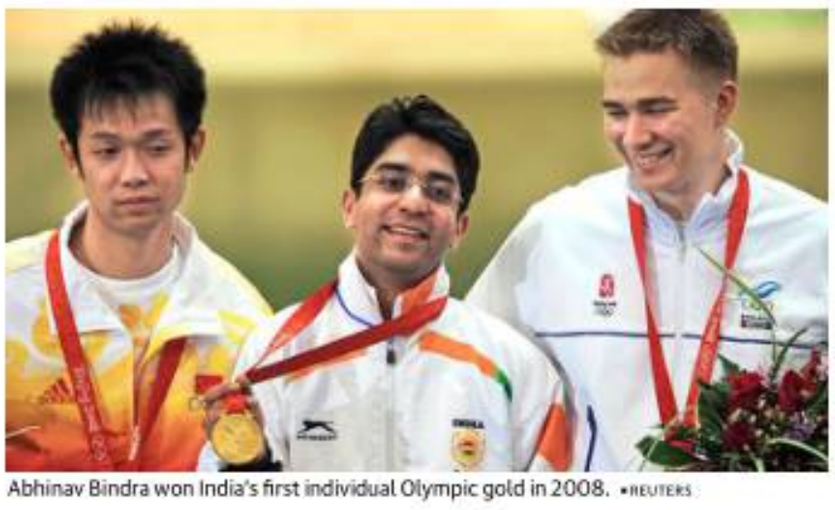
*Rekha Saxena is Professor at the Department of Political Science, University of Delhi, Honorary Vice-Chairperson, Centre for Multilevel Federalism, New Delhi, and Honorary Senior Adviser, Forum of Federations, Ottawa*

# The journey of a nation in sport

For all the promise of a better sporting tomorrow, the past reminds India of much that was precious and which should not be forgotten

**Sharda Ugra**
*has been a sports journalist for over three decades*

The best way to begin a dispassionate assessment of free India's sporting odyssey across 75 years is by turning our backs on today. Or at least from the July promos of the 2022 Commonwealth Games, featuring flag-waving, rapid cuts of random athletes doing sporty things, and a lingering montage of Sports Minister Anurag Thakur striding purposefully hither and thither before delivering his piece to camera. They contain many contradictory narratives - the Empire-created Commonwealth identity, the statism of our sport - and only end up blurring objectivity.



Abhinav Bindra won India's first individual Olympic gold in 2008. • REUTERS

### Left on the back-burner

Navigating through Indian sport across the last 75 years does not only involve invoking a cavalcade of champions. Our sport is located in our political, economic and social histories. The India sporting nation also grew alongside the slow transformation of sport from the amateurism of the post-War era into professionalism in the last two decades of the 20th century.

India played a significant part in creating a post-colonial, pan-Asian athletic solidarity, hosting the first-ever Asian Games. Starting from 11 nations, 489 athletes and 57 medal events in six sports in 1951, the Asian Games have grown into the second-largest multi-sport event in the world.

But as a young country with myriad obstacles and priorities, Indian sport was mostly left on the back-burner. Its funding was limited, mostly dependent and driven by royal patronage, like from Patiala or business houses like the Tatas and later the Mahindras, and peopled by pre-Independence administrators from the urban gentry. After a couple of decades of success in team sport – standout Olympic hockey domination and sustained competitiveness in continental football – Indian sport zigged and zagged as if blindfolded, out of step with a changing world, from the mid-1970s onwards. Here, we refer only to Olympic sport. In non-Olympic disciplines, Indians made their mark in cue sports, tennis and badminton.

And through a fortuitous series of circumstances, triggered by India's 1983 World Cup victory, Indian cricket became the team sport that broke away from the pack, charting an evolutionary course that was far different from that of its slow-moving cousins. The popularity of the 50-over game followed by the arrival of satellite TV and the opening up of Indian markets in the 1990s became cricket's perfect storm. If 1983 was Year Zero, by 2000 cricket had spread through the hinterland, dominating both mind space and markets.

### The state in our games

What kept other Indian sport alive, regardless of international results, was state support. Firstly, as the state tied sporting performance with public sector employment, sport became a source of livelihood, not leisure. The government also funded, through our taxes, the federations in charge of running close to 33 'priority' sports. The majority of these, with powerful, politically connected leadership, rode the gravy train for decades, many to this day refusing to adopt international sports governance practices.

The staging of the 1982 Asian Games and the 2010 Commonwealth Games helped create new infrastructure and build a pan-India network of training centres, more than 100 across five categories through the Sports Authority of India. The centres still draw in and remain suppliers of the majority of our talent pool. But to this day, Indian athletes, in the large bulk of sporting disciplines have fewer opportunities for sustained, seasonal competition than their compatriots overseas. While the Khelo India scheme was meant to plug the shortfall, an objective assessment of the programme is still awaited. Wherever an organised grassroots programme and an annual calendar exists across district, State and nation, that sport does not require its athletes spending most months of the year in training camps away from home. In India, such States form a small percentage.

Cricket's economic opportunism should have offered lessons for other disciplines to grow and seek sustainability and independence. Instead, cricket's success was only responded to with resentment. The results began to show. In 1990, India finished 11th on the medals tally at the Beijing Asian Games, its first time outside the top 10, with a lone gold in kabaddi. While India won Olympic gold in men's hockey in 1980, it was only 16 years later that it won its next medal, a bronze by Leander Paes in 1996. The falling away of Indian hockey, football and, in the last two decades, tennis, and the failure of athletics to find a star after P.T. Usha or cash in on Anju Bobby George's world championship medal, are failures of governance. The return and the rise of badminton was driven not by its ruling body, but through individual efforts from the game's greats.

### The tide turns with the millennium

The Indian athlete, however, is not easily crushed. At the turn of the century, the ambitious found support and real-time investment. The path to sporting success, it was obvious, was not linked to divine intervention or magic genes, but methodical planning, timely expert assistance, and the persistence to secure government funding. The first decade of the 21st century was to also mark the creation of entities, unique only to Indian sport, proof of administrative indolence. Private bodies turned up as intermediaries between the aspirational athlete and officious gatekeepers and/or government red tape to ensure funding, training and competition plans came through quickly. From the early 2000s, Olympic Gold Quest (2001), Mittal Champions Trust (2003, now defunct), GoSports Foundation (2008, the first to support para sports), Lakshya Sports (2009), Anglian Medal Hunt (2012) and JSW Sport (2013) appeared on the scene and their impact has shown in results.

In 2008, rifle shooter Abhinav Bindra won India's first individual Olympic gold in Beijing. India also won bronzes in boxing and wrestling. This was its first multi-medal Olympics after Helsinki 1952. The praise drawn by these private sporting bodies was to sting other stakeholders. Some federations such as wrestling today are trying to prevent their athletes from signing up with private bodies. The government, still the largest funding pool for sports, created its own funding and training programme for elite athletes - the Target Olympic Podium Scheme – in 2014. Bindra's gold was epochal, but it took nearly 13 years for India's second gold, from Neeraj Chopra.

The year 2008 also marked a tectonic shift in cricket when the world's first Twenty20 franchise competition, the Indian Premier League (IPL), was launched. It has shaken and stirred global cricket and its economy since.

Seventy-five years have given Indian sport much to celebrate to mull over. New industrial leaders, such as JSW and Reliance, are investing chunks of corporate social responsibility funds into creating privately funded world-class training institutes, centres of excellence and running sports-specific programmes. In cricket, India has become a successful touring side across formats, armed with a battery of fast bowlers, but curiously it has not won a major ICC title for close to a decade. The IPL is on the verge of challenging and consuming the international calendar.

If 75 have brought us here, where should the next 25 years take us? To start with, Indian cricket should be distributing its gravy around far more evenly than just at the top of the table. Maybe India at 75 is the fork in the road of our sporting development elsewhere. It could be time to break away from the medal-procurement mania and push to give children greater access to sport and competition in a safe environment.

In any case, the blindfold of the 1970s and 1980s is off around our Olympic sport and the uber elite athlete is far better served in the new millennium than his predecessors. Bindra says when it comes to cash awards, no athletes in the world are better rewarded than Indians. What remains to be upped is governance, the use of advanced sports science and prioritisation of performance-enabling environments, "still a work in progress."

What has also emerged is the fusing of sporting performance into every stream of hypernationalism. Those who give bucketfuls of cash always call in for greater returns. The Indian sports star must become a social media supporter of state policy. The star athlete also signs up as cheerleader. Even in these best of times for sports fans, there comes a serendipitous counter to the endless flag-waving jingoism that suffuses our sport today. Released last year, a documentary called *Taangh* (Punjabi for 'longing') featured, among many things, the story of the refugee players from Lahore on the hockey team that won free India's first Olympic gold in London 1948. After a screening in Bengaluru, director Bani Singh, the daughter of double Olympic gold medalist Nandy Singh, was asked about the use of the 1948 footage of the Indian flag and the national anthem in *Taangh* and its interpretation in contemporary India. She reminded us that for the 1948 team, which had grown up as subjects under colonial rule, to see the flag going up above the Union Jack "wasn't jingoism, it was sombre, it was a love." Like the anthem, "I do feel we need to re-claim these symbols in the way we understand them... to say no, the flag belongs to all of us. I wanted to show it the way it meant to them in 1948."

For all the promise of a better sporting tomorrow, our past reminds India at 75 of much that was precious and which should not be forgotten.

**It could be time to break away from the medal-procurement mania and push to give children greater access to sport and competition in a safe environment**

THE HINDU GROUP

India was not born great. Independence did not give her freedom from famine, plagues and poverty. But no story of greatness begins great. It speaks of triumphs, struggles, plot twists and milestones alongside the blood, sweat and tears shed to achieve them. India's tale is that of the millions that helped liberate her and the millions that continue to toil for her progress every day.

Winning Oscars, Grammys and hearts, lifting World Cups and smashing box office hits globally. Slowly but surely, India is turning into the nation that she was always meant to be. Fulfilling one dream at a time. Leading change in every field.

Nations are not born great because greatness is not a genetic trait. But a dream that can be achieved with courage and strength. The story of India's independence is the story of how she turned her challenges into celebrations. Her battle cries into victory songs.

75 years ago, a great nation *was not born.*

From fighting polio to facing the fiercest fast bowlers, India has always taken on her battles with great courage and strength. Today, the country that once depended on generosity has become the country that spearheads the upliftment of other nations. She is at her strongest when it comes to political and diplomatic influence. Free to take a stand even on the murkiest international conflicts, she does not bat an eyelid at the pressure it brings. In the last 75 years, we have had many shining examples of Indians achieving the impossible.

THE HINDU GROUP
CELEBRATING 75 YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE

Scan to recapture India's iconic moments.

THE HINDU SPORTSTAR BusinessLine FRONTLINE

Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav

PUSHKAR PROPERTIES PRIVATE LIMITED

PROUD TO HAVE MADE A CONCRETE CONTRIBUTION TO BUILDING A NEW INDIA THAT IS PROGRESSIVE & ENTERPRISING

MEMBER CREDAI
Follow us on
contact@pushkarproperties.in
www.pushkarproperties.in
98843 97640 | 98843 90277

# The race of two Asian giants

## China and India will shape Asia in the next decade, but likely in wary opposition to one another

RANA MITTER

File photo of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi with Chinese Premier Deng Xiaoping at the Great Hall of the People, in Beijing, in 1988. • AFP

Last month, a United Nations population survey estimated that a milestone may be passed in 2023. For the first time in over two millennia, China will not be the most populous society on earth. Instead India will have the largest population, and China will be second.

It's a rare example of a global ranking where India sits higher than China, and it's an ambivalent victory at best: a larger population does not have merit in itself, unless it is well-fed and endowed with economic prospects. China has other number 2 rankings which may raise its standing, such as the second largest economy in the world. It is not second to India but the U.S. This is a reminder of how far the two Asian giants have come since their moments of profound political change in the late 1940s: independence for India in 1947, and the victory of the Chinese Communist Party and establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949. In global power terms, China now looms above India, but the fluidity of geopolitics in the 2020s may give India advantages in the world now being shaped.

### Different directions

The world of the late 1940s was one where global order was just as much in turmoil as in the present day. India had become the first major British colony to gain freedom, and its new leader, Jawaharlal Nehru, saw the fate of India as important not only for his country's own people but also for the other, still-colonised peoples of Asia. Although the violence of Partition cast a bloody cloud across the landscape, the establishment of India as a multi-party electoral democracy with a free media was a foundation stone of the secular politics that Nehru embodied, and wanted an independent India to represent. China's fate at that time was also marked by violence, but it had a very different result. China had fought Japan from 1937 to 1945 during World War II, but was then plunged into a civil war between the ruling Nationalists of Chiang Kai-shek and the Communists under Mao Zedong. Mao's victory saw the establishment of the PRC, which leaned heavily on the Soviet Union for its economic model. China was kept out of the United Nations for another two decades, and did not open diplomatic relations with the U.S. for three. The years of Mao's rule saw immense domestic turmoil, with events such as the Great Leap Forward of 1958-62, an experiment in self-sufficient socialism that went horrifically wrong and starved millions of farmers to death, as well as the Cultural Revolution of 1966-76, in which China went to war with itself. Mao's China also, of course, went to war with India, in a border conflict in 1962 whose after-effects are still very evident today.

### Common concerns

Yet, in the later years, the thawing of the Cold War saw both countries change path, and even share some common concerns. By the 1990s, India's highly protected economy was producing limited growth, and controversial reforms under figures including P.V. Narasimha Rao opened up the economy in various ways, creating a new class of millionaires as well as increasing inequality. In a sense, China had been there first, with the astonishing economic experiment begun in the 1970s with the blessing of Mao's ultimate successor, Deng Xiaoping. Instead of the command economy that Mao had favoured, China's senior leader allowed the development of a market economy. This did not follow the model pioneered by Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher, and Bob Hawke, of removing the government as much as possible from the workings of the market.

Instead, the Chinese private sector was given space to develop within a framework controlled by the party. But it worked astonishingly well. China became a manufacturing hub for the world, regularly posting 10% growth rates in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Today, China's per capita GDP rate is around $9,000 a year, as opposed to around $2,000 for India.

Today, geopolitical tensions mean that China and India mostly sit on opposite ends on major global questions. There are some areas of commonality, to be fair; both are nervous about climate change commitments that may hamper their growth, and both abstained at the United Nations this year rather than condemning Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

### Lessons to be learned

Yet there are also elements behind their rise that mean that both sides can learn from each other. One of China's most powerful engines for growth has been its stress on education: 2.4% of GDP goes on research and development broadly defined, and in international university rankings, which mostly rate hard sciences, China has a group of institutions in the top tier, many more than India. Education is not evenly distributed, with urban centres obtaining much more of the pie than the children of the countryside. Yet, there is no doubt that China's stress on building human capital has had results.

However, China's current political system runs the risk of losing its gains as it become narrower and more authoritarian. In the last few years, technology entrepreneurs, academics and lawyers have all become victims of political crackdowns by the party, which is concerned about any voices that do not simply follow the line sent down by Beijing. However, societies that suppress questioning voices find, in time, that their capacity to innovate is damaged. India has long had a pluralist system with a variety of voices; the flexibility and capacity to change that such a system can provide should give both China and India pause for thought if neither wants to fall behind in the next stage of global development.

### Challenges ahead

The 2020s will provide a set of challenges for both India and China. On the international stage, both countries need to think where they can find new friends. In the case of India, there are plenty of suitors, as the establishment of the Quad naval agreement with the U.S., Australia, and Japan suggests. Yet independent India has always been reluctant to become too entangled in disputes beyond its borders. The growing strength of China has become a source of alarm for India, but it is not yet obvious that New Delhi wants to accept the invitations of the U.S. to become a full-blown ally against Beijing, nor what New Delhi's reaction would be, say, to a Chinese attempt to take Taiwan in the near future. China is likewise wary of formal alliances, but that is in part because its potential partners are ambivalent ones. Russia and China declared a "friendship without limits" in February this year, but it seems unlikely that Russian President Vladimir Putin shared the full extent of his ambition to invade Ukraine with Chinese President Xi Jinping when he met him at the Winter Olympics.

There is little doubt that the actions of both China and India will shape Asia in the next decade. But it is likely that they will continue to do so in wary opposition to each other, and not as part of a wider Asian power bloc of the sort that Nehru might have imagined back in 1947, even if they continue to remain the first and second most populous societies on earth - in whichever order.

*Rana Mitter is Professor of History and Politics of Modern China, University of Oxford*

# An event to flag

DUSHYANT DAVE

• THE HINDU PHOTO ARCHIVES

As the nation celebrates *'Azadi ka Amrit Mahotsav'*, with the accompanying slogan, *'Har Ghar Tiranga'*, we must, while saluting the flag, ponder over the events that led to the birth of this great national emblem. The Constituent Assembly made an invaluable contribution in giving us this great national flag. The debates and events that took place in its adoption were thus. On July 22, 1947, Jawaharlal Nehru moved the following Resolution before the Constituent Assembly of India: "Resolved that the National Flag of India shall be horizontal tricolour of deep Saffron (*Kesari*), white and dark green in equal proportion. In the centre of the white band, there shall be a Wheel in navy blue to represent the *Charkha* The design of the Wheel shall be that of the Wheel (*Chakra*) which appears on the abacuse of the Sarnath Lion Capital of Asoka... The diameter of the Wheel shall approximate to the width of the white band and the ratio of the width to the length of the Flag shall ordinarily be 2:3."

The event marked the culmination of a freedom struggle across over 100 years, in which millions of Indians, men, women and children, sacrificed their lives and livelihood. The national flag was a slight changeover from the swaraj flag which was first hoisted at the Indian National Congress Session in Calcutta in 1911 by the late Dadabhai Naoroji. The flag was adopted not by a formal resolution, but by popular acclaim and usage, adopted much more by the sacrifice that had surrounded it in the past few decades. Nehru declared, with hope and trust, amid cheers, that this flag was not "a Flag of Empire, a Flag of Imperialism, a Flag of domination over any body, but a Flag of freedom not only for ourselves, but a symbol of freedom to all people who may see it".

The original flag had a *charkha* but it had a wheel on one side and spindle on the other, and if one looked at the flag from the other side, the spindle would come the other way and the wheel the other, making the flag look disproportionate. Looking at this practical difficulty, the *charkha* was replaced by the *chakra* (wheel), being a symbol of "India's ancient culture"; "a symbol of the many things that India had stood for through the ages".

Seth Govind Das dismissed some thoughts attributing a communal angle to the colours by saying, "I would remind you of the war of Independence of 1857. At that time, the colour of our flag was green and under it we fought that battle. It was at that time not the colour of Muslims alone or of Hindus but of all those who fought the war of Independence."

S. Radhakrishnan said, "The Flag links up the past and the present. It is the legacy bequeathed to us by the architects of our liberty. Those who fought under this Flag are mainly responsible for the arrival of this great day of Independence for India...."

Saiyid Mohammad Saadulla said, "In my opinion the Flag symbolises the evolution of our aspirations, the fulfilment of our struggles and the ultimate result of all our sacrifices." In his view, the white portion of the flag was a reminder that we should be pure not only in word but also in deed, and that "purity should be [the] motto of our life – individually as well as in connection with the State... The *Dharma chakra* of Asoka reminds us of the condition of the people at the time of that great Buddhist Emperor of India. He ruled not for his personal aggrandisement but for the contentment, peace and prosperity of the people under his charge...."

Pandit Govind Malaviya put the debate on a higher pedestal by declaring that "...The flag may be of a piece of white cloth of any other insignificant material, but when it is accepted as a National Flag, it becomes the emblem of national self-respect.... It becomes its dearest object."

"Remember," said Sarojini Naidu, "under this Flag there is no prince and there is no peasant, there is no rich and there is no poor. There is no privilege there is only duty... and sacrifice. Whether we be Hindus or Muslims, Christians, Jains, Sikhs or Zorostrians and others, our Mother India has one undivided heart and one indivisible spirit. Men and women of reborn India, rise and salute this Flag! I bid you, rise and salute the Flag," she said, amidst thunderous cheers.

The President of the Assembly, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, at the end of the lively and sombre debate, put the resolution to vote and the motion was adopted, with the whole Assembly standing.

Let us hope India continues its progress for generations to come under the aegis of the Flag, *"Vivat, Crescat, floreat* India (May India under the aegis of this Flag live, grow and flourish)". Article 51A describes Fundamental Duties of every Citizen of India including "to abide by the Constitution and respect its ideals and institutions, the national Flag and the National Anthem" as also "to cherish and follow the noble ideals which inspired our national struggle for freedom".

Let us hope and pray that the National Flag is revered at all times in light of the spirit under which it was born.

*Dushyant Dave is a Senior Advocate, Supreme Court of India and a former President of the Supreme Court Bar Association*

# Time for India to reclaim its moral leadership

## The challenge today is to define a unique foreign policy identity and shape the country's engagement with a chaotic world

HAPPYMON JACOB

At 75, India – a younger state and an older nation – stands at a critical juncture in its relationship with the world. The world in which India won indepdence in 1947 has changed beyond recognition, from a bipolar U.S.-U.S.S.R. world to a brief unipolar moment of American hegemony to one that is moving toward another bipolar competition between China and the United States, distracted by the illusions of a multipolar world. For India, the challenge today is to define its unique foreign policy identity, and shape the contours of its engagement with an increasingly chaotic world. India can address this by reclaiming its moral leadership in the region and beyond.

### A post-normative turn

India at 75 appears to have become a 'normal country' (or just another country if you will) with its claims of a moral or political exceptionalism increasingly ringing hollow (or being abandoned), and its national interests articulated in a more unembarrassed manner. There is an abiding feeling within much of the Indian strategic and political elite that its moral claims have not served the country's interests well. This post-normative turn in India's foreign policy, with its attendant aggression, a new language of self-interest and growing balance of power temptations, is likely to define India's attitude towards the world going forward. India has long given up on non-alignment, and its legatee concept 'strategic autonomy' is devoid of any normative connotations, unlike its predecessor.

While this post-normative turn has helped better clarify the country's national interests to itself and others, the moral argument is no longer viewed as a powerful foreign policy tool. There is an enduring grievance in contemporary India that the moral arguments it consistently made since (and even prior to) its independence have not taken India very far. While it is not wrong to argue that in an increasingly chaotic world, self-help is unavoidable, and moral arguments or policies alone will not take nations very far especially those located in hard geopolitical situations, it is also not inaccurate to argue that nations and leaders who can provide moral leadership have a special place in the comity of nations.

So, the question that countries such as India (because the world still, albeit occasionally, looks up to us for moral leadership or as a peace-builder) should ask is whether it is possible to uphold the norms and values in foreign policy pursuits without necessarily sacrificing its own national interests. As the historian E.H. Carr powerfully argued in his masterpiece, *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939*, "any sound political thought must be based on elements of both utopia and reality". India may have become a 'normal country' today, but there is no reason for us to stop being a normal power with a moral persuasion.

### India and global institutions

Another important factor in India's relationship with the world is its role as an institution builder (or the lack thereof). India has followed seemingly contradictory policies. It has been keen on participating in global institutions, including the UN Security Council (which it has been kept out of), it has made significant contributions to various types of international organisations, international or inter-governmental, and it has been a keen participant in various global efforts at addressing common global challenges. And yet, despite our keen desire to be a part of global institutions and governance structures, have we made, sustained or supported such institutions in our own region? I agree it would not have been easy and would have involved compromises.

The earthquake in 2015 in Nepal. • AP

Let us dig a little deeper. Even as we fought for sovereign equality and non-intervention in the affairs of other countries globally, and dismissed hegemony or the dominance of any one power, we have done pretty much the opposite in our own region (once again, I get it – 'it's complicated'). Notwithstanding the double standards, the point I want to stress is that we lost an opportunity in our own region to lead by example. Once a site of India's primacy, South Asia is no longer 'India's region', and so India has lost the opportunity to build cooperative institutions and norms in the region, and to sustain its political influence in it.

The impact of such a lost opportunity is becoming evident today. India's reluctance over building institutions in its 'periphery' which can sustain democratic values and economic integration has come back to haunt the country given how Beijing's predatory economic practices have managed to sway the region so effortlessly. So, we must reimagine our approach to global and regional institutions and norm-building.

India is also a power caught between the deep desires of being a great power and the material incapacities of being unable to become one. That was perhaps a reason why the country's 'early leaders' sought to project India as a moral great power, cognisant of its debilitating material incapacities to be a 'normal' great power. Seventy-five years since Independence, India is perhaps neither – a moral great power or one in the standard material sense.

Our loss (or wilful renunciation) of moral agency in foreign policy has a number of consequences. For one, our ability to build peace or mediate for global peace has vastly diminished (not that there is much appetite for doing so in New Delhi even if material ability were available). Second, contemporary India's pursuit of its interests is hardly backed by normative arguments but by material power (which it does not have a great deal of) or exploitation of great power contradictions or playing the balance-of-power games.

As the incumbent Foreign Minister writes in his book, *The India Way*, India seeks to advance its "national interests by identifying and exploiting opportunities created by global contradictions", using "competition to extract as much gains from as many ties as possible" and soliciting or manipulating stronger forces to its advantage. Surely these are standard practices of statecraft and India cannot be faulted for adopting them in an uncertain world. And, yet, this line of thinking belongs to a passive state unwilling to proactively shape the outcomes of international politics. Can we not do better than that?

Here is a related question: when India seeks a place at the global high tables, what does it bring to the table? If the answer is one that is premised on the argument of sheer size, that is a lazy one. Consider this: India will soon become the most populous country in the world, but it will hardly be a demographic superpower; it is set to be the world's sixth-largest economy but it is still too poor to spend for global peace, stability or maintenance of world order. So, what exactly can we offer the world if we want to proactively shape the global order? That is precisely where normative arguments and moral leadership are important.

### Elusive peace and stability

Another major aspect of India's engagement with the world is its search for peace and stability. New Delhi's insistent references to 'terrorism' in its statements in various forums is a partial indication of this deep desire for a stable neighbourhood. Despite enjoying regional primacy for a long time, India failed to pacify the region, and its own actions have often contributed to regional instability. But there is a larger issue here pertaining to India's moral agency: our attitudes and policies toward the outside world will also be a function of who we are internally. Our *Weltanschauung* cannot be seen to be divorced from who we are internally as a nation. Put differently, can India truly build peace externally without building peace internally? Good foreign policy starts with good domestic politics.

We must reclaim our moral leadership in the comity of nations, but it has to begin from within the country and neighbourhood. The argument is not that India must relinquish its hard national interests, but that moral arguments have the power to highlight the appeal of our national interests even more.

*Happymon Jacob is Associate Professor, Centre for International Politics, Organisation and Disarmament, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi*

A Part of SSVM® INSTITUTIONS

Dr Manimekalai Mohan
*Founder & Managing Trustee*

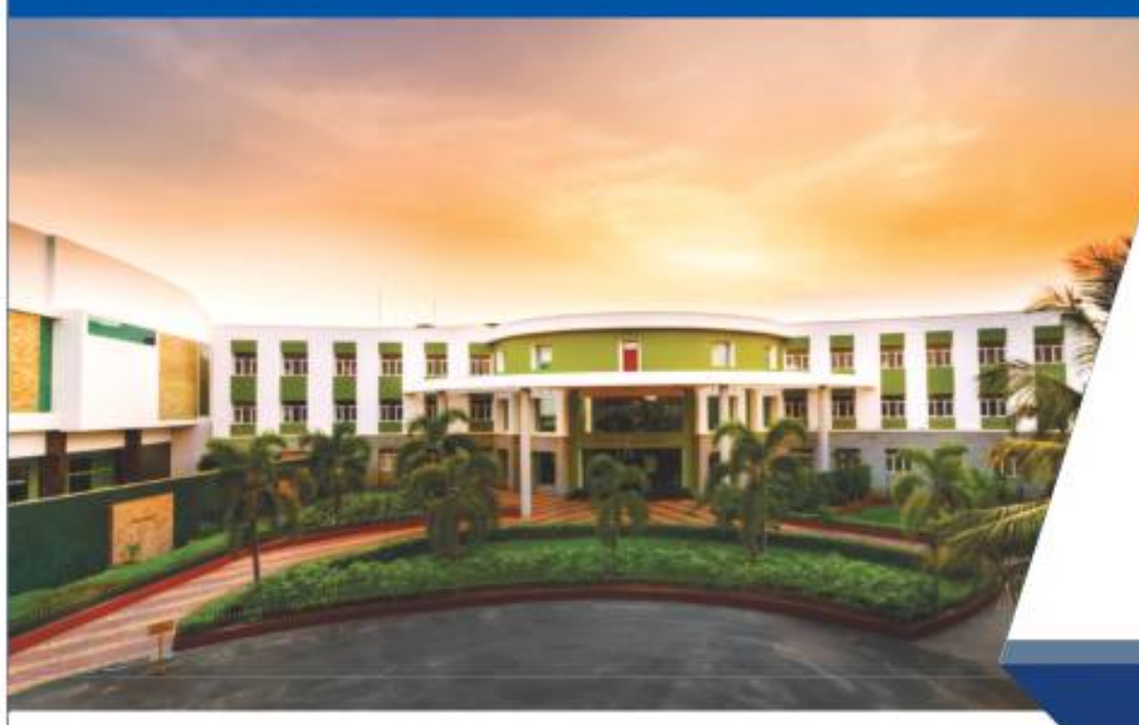
# A PROGRESSIVE EVOLUTION IN ***QUALITY EDUCATION***

The
## ***CBSE / NIOS***

Curriculum at
SSVM World School
delivers a higher standard of learning experience in collaboration with innovative teaching approaches and excellence in education.

NURSERY & PRIMARY | SECONDARY | SENIOR SECONDARY

www.ssvminstitutions.ac.in



RANKED NO.1

Campus Architecture Design & Innovation in Education by
EducationWorld
Education Today

International Dimension in Schools 2019-22

Cambridge Assessment English
Authorised Exam Centre

ON STRAIGHT ON

SSVM® WORLD SCHOOL

SINGANALLUR, **Coimbatore.** **+91 934 445 1888** www.ssvmws.com

# Local governments in a state of disrepair

Nearly 30 years since the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments came into force, politicians have failed to keep their word on the true devolution of powers, responsibilities and accountability

T.R. RAGHUNANDAN

People waiting to cast their votes for the panchayat elections in Jabalpur district of Madhya Pradesh. • PTI

One cannot strike a cheerful note when contemplating the state of India's panchayats and municipalities, 75 years after Independence. True, the local government system obtained constitutional status only through the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments, which mandated panchayats and municipalities, devolved a range of powers and responsibilities and made them accountable to the people. Some say that it was lucky that those amendments were passed at all; they were tabled in Parliament on the day that the Babri Masjid was attacked by a mob on December 6, 1992. The mind of the country was somewhere else then.

These amendments, which came into force in 1993, were revolutionary; they changed the scope and extent of India's democracy. From a mere 4,000 MLAs and MPs, the number of our elected representatives exploded to nearly 3.2 million. We progressed from being representationally sparse to one of the most intense democratic participatory systems envisaged. Scope was provided for the participation of women and the marginalised sections of society in government. These reservations were not merely extended to the elected seats but to the leadership positions as well.

In the nearly 30 years since these amendments were incorporated into our Constitution, politicians have mouthed the rhetoric of power to the people, but failed to keep their word on the true 'devolution' of powers, responsibilities and accountability to local governments.

While many scoffed at enabling women, SCs, STs and OBCs to occupy leadership positions, politicians of all hues were alive to the significance of these measures.

Nitish Kumar, in 2006, enlarged women's representation in Bihar's panchayats from the minimum mandated level of one third to half of the elected seats and leadership positions. Other politicians quickly followed suit; such provisions exist in the majority of States now.

### Say of bureaucrats

Bureaucrats, insulated from political compulsions, remain steadfastly opposed to strengthening local governments. That is natural; they would lose their pre-eminent positions of power over where, how and when government money is spent, if they actually devolved power to local governments.

"Local governments have no capacity," they proclaim, waving their hands at the lakhs of elected members who had stood for elections and won them – something no bureaucrat had the capacity to do.

There is a cabal forged between top-level politicians and such bureaucrats. The strategy is simple: let's spout the talk, but let's not walk it. Let us starve local governments of staff and money. That is exactly where we stand at the moment.

A three-pronged strategy is used to cripple the local government system.

Every local government needs to have organisational capacity, by way of staff such as engineers, office staff and social mobilisers. Staffing of local governments is scanty. In some States, many panchayats share a single secretary, who operates from a shoulder bag, a *jhola*, carrying all the books. The sub-district staff are still controlled by the Collector, seen as the head of an anachronism, the district 'administration'.

The line departments are loath to allow their local institutions – schools, *anganwadis*, primary health centres, veterinary hospitals and so on – to be placed under the control and supervision of panchayats. Yet, in a delicious paradox, one cannot hold any higher-level bureaucrat to account for the abysmal quality of local services.

Second, local governments are starved of money. The Union Finance Commissions have made desirable recommendations, but the pitifully low finances that are devolved to local governments, not more than 5% of the divisible pool of Union taxes, come with conditionalities that bind them to specific uses.

Furthermore, these funds are tied down by restrictive procedures that give officers control over local government expenditure decisions, through cheque signing conditionalities.

While local governments have their own tax resources such as property taxes, in many States, there is no emphasis given to their collection. Where they are collected, officers exert control over how local governments use their funds, by committing these to aggregate purchases tendered and arranged at higher levels. Last, in a diabolical twist of the public finance system, funds meant for the mandated duties of local governments are diverted to parallel corporate structures that perform these duties without accountability to, or consultation with the people. The Smart City 'Special Purpose Vehicle' is a particularly ill-reputed example.

Third, technology is a much-loved tool of bureaucrats to centralise the delivery of local services, much to the detriment of local decision-making. Guess why centralised beneficiary selection, payments and location decisions of public utilities are so popular with bureaucrats? They take away from local, nuanced decision-making and put enormous powers in the hands of higher-level officers and politicians. Thus, beneficiary lists prepared through *gram sabhas* are subverted by MLAs acting in concert with higher-level officers who, in spite of their claims to professional neutrality, are unable to resist political pressure from above.

### The new battleground

What of the coming years, in the light of these dismal practices which have eclipsed the constitutional vision? I see a few trends emerging. First, urban governments will be the new battleground. The 74th amendment was the poor cousin of the 73rd, with weaker provisions, particularly regarding the enabling of peoples' participation in governance. However, the continuous breakdown of urban services is igniting interest amongst urban citizens – most have been indifferent in the past – to engage with and combat bad governance. Over the past decade, urban NGOs have sprung up, which educate and exhort urban citizens to take a greater interest in urban governance. There are many good examples of local action in practice.

Second, there is a growing failure of local services being delivered by line departments. Earlier, in many States, line departments were unwilling to devolve decisions on location of new infrastructure – that is where the powers of patronage existed. However, as India closes the infrastructure gap, line departments seem more willing to hand over the day-to-day management of local services to local governments. One of the outcomes of the pandemic lockdowns was how panchayats rallied around to keep local institutions going, even as higher-level officials were unable to supervise and manage them. That phenomenon, hopefully, has assured line departments that local governments have the capability to manage their own essential services, if they could be treated with less condescension and greater respect.

In the final outcome, local governments cannot be ignored. For us, the Indian people, our independence for the most part lies in strong local governments that are responsive to our needs and wants. Local governments are much more than our garbage collectors and street-light managers. They are our most effective vaccines against the pandemic of big government.

*T.R. Raghunandan is former Joint Secretary, Ministry of Panchayati Raj, Government of India*

# The fastest-growing large economy in the world

India has come a long way, but much remains to be done

AJIT RANADE

India represents one sixth of the world and is today the third largest economy in terms of purchasing power parity. Even in terms of nominal exchange rate of the dollar, India is the sixth largest economy. It has grown at an average rate of 7% per annum for the past 40 years, growing from a size of $189 billion in 1980 to nearly $3 trillion today.

This growth rate is about 2% lower than that of China over the same period but represents a higher rate of return when compared with the investment rate of the GDP.

Until the year of the COVID-19 pandemic, India did not have a single year since 1980 when its economy contracted.

It was continuously expanding, with peak rates of 9% to 10% in between. As we celebrate our 76th Independence Day, it is worth reminding that at birth, the newborn nation was highly impoverished, thanks to centuries of colonial exploitation. It was critically dependent on foreign aid for food and forex and had an average life expectancy of only 32 years. The level of illiteracy was very high.

The sheer scale of economic transformation of this nation from bottom to top league is nothing short of spectacular. Today's India is not only self-sufficient but also an exporter of food. It holds the fifth largest stock of foreign exchange and is a net lender to the International Monetary Fund, a far cry from having to go with a begging bowl to the IMF on the brink of forex bankruptcy in 1991.

### Confident foreign investor

Foreign investors have cumulatively poured in half a trillion dollars into India in the past three decades, after the economy opened up. This reflects their confidence in the growth potential. India is the rare Asian country with a persistent current account deficit, as imports always exceed exports. And yet, foreign investors, undeterred by trade deficit, pour investment dollars into factories and businesses as well as into capital markets, leading to a consistent balance of payment currency surplus for India.

The foreign investor is confident that even with twin deficits (fiscal and external), the growth of the economy, driven by demography and dynamism, can pay for the deficits. Thanks to that consistent economic growth, the level of extreme poverty is down sharply from nearly 50% to possibly single digits, and life expectancy has more than doubled since 1947.

On the political front too, India's robust democracy stands in sharp contrast to the authoritarian regime of its more affluent northern neighbour. Surviving for seven decades, nay flourishing in once piece, despite its immense diversity in every conceivable dimension, be it religion, race, language, culture or cuisine, is a minor miracle in itself. Many large countries such as the USSR broke up into smaller splinters. That is not to say that India's democracy is perfect. Nevertheless, since the first national election, the country has witnessed largely bloodless and peaceful transfer of power – 16 times – something that other former colonial, developing countries can only envy.

India's early post-Independence economic strategy had to factor in the extreme poverty, the scarcity of growth capital, a low tax base and an export pessimism begotten possibly by suspicion of colonial powers.

India was more inward looking and influenced, if not enamoured, by the Soviet planning model of development. One could argue, with hindsight, that it should have been abandoned much earlier than when we actually did. But in light of early conditions, the initial import substitution-led industrial strategy, supported by low wage goods (i.e., food prices), which, in turn, necessitated input subsidies to agriculture, did pay dividends in terms of infrastructure and green revolution. It just stayed longer than it needed to. India also missed the bus, unlike her East Asian neighbours, on capitalising on labour intensive export-led growth. But after the shock of 1991, the economy opened up dramatically.

India's trade to GDP ratio, an indicator of its openness is higher than the United States. It is now the world's leading exporter of software and an outsourcing powerhouse.

Indian workers send nearly 100 billion dollars of inbound remittance, which strengthens the Indian economy. In an indirect way, it is like India's labour export income.

The economy has a large domestic momentum, which can only grow once per capita income rises above $3,000 or $4,000. The other signs of strength are in terms of proliferation of unicorns (valued highly by equity investors), exponential growth of e-commerce and digital payments, and a widening industrial base.

Agriculture is much less dependent on the vagaries of the weather, and diversification towards more climate, soil and market-appropriate crops is evident, as is the huge growth in the animal husbandry and dairy sector. India is also meeting its very ambitious targets of renewable energy, especially of solar energy, ahead of schedule. The marriage of cheap solar electricity and of large-scale hydrogen economy holds the tantalising promise of an energy surplus, not deficient, and import-dependent economy.

### Negative aspects

The economy's glass is more than half full, but we cannot ignore the negative aspects. Unemployment remains a huge challenge, as the youth still scramble for government jobs. The government disclosed in Parliament recently that 220 million Indians had applied for just seven lakh government jobs in the past seven years.

Besides, labour force participation rate is low, alarmingly so for women. Job creation is priority number one, even as nearly 70% of industrial jobs are vulnerable to becoming extinct, thanks to automation and robotics. Despite running the world's biggest and longest-running free foodgrain distribution programme, India's ranking in the world hunger index is abysmal, signifying the lopsided distribution of economic growth. Inequality in income, wealth, access to quality education and health facilities is widening.

Hence the tilt towards more welfare spending, which increases fiscal pressure. To generate 10 million jobs annually, we need lakhs of new enterprises to be born. That calls for ease of doing business, especially in areas such as dispute resolution and contract enforcement. But the judiciary is clogged with nearly 50 million cases. Judicial reform is as urgent as job creation. India is the fastest-growing large economy, proud of her democratic foundations, but much work remains to be done.

*Ajit Ranade is an economist based in Pune*

# Lights, camera, action: the changing hues on a broad canvas

The evolution from within the structures of India's traditional film industry to the digital age has been spectacular

SHALINI USHADEVI

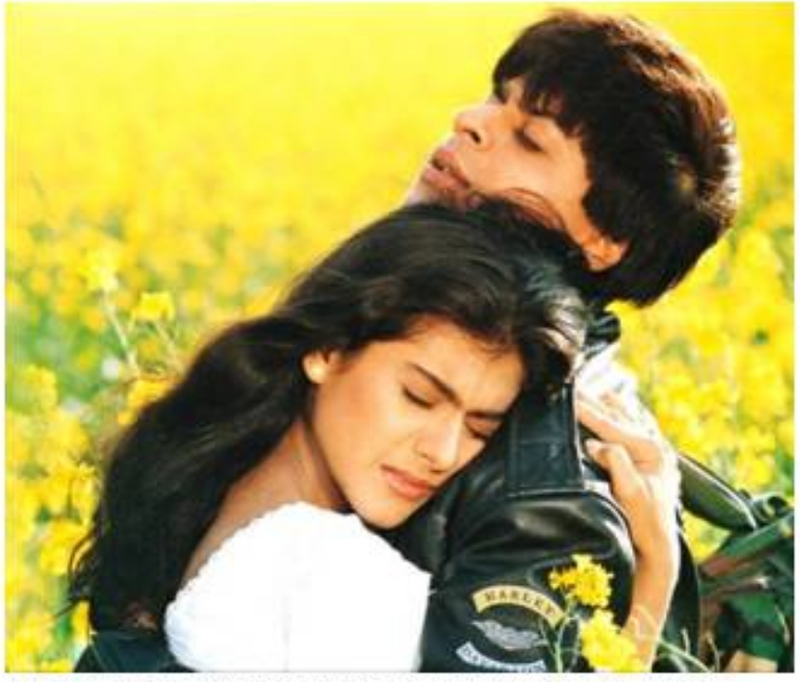
In the film *Dharavi* (1992), the hero, Raj Karan Yadav (played by Om Puri), strives to find a better life for himself, one that is free from debt and drudgery. After unsuccessful attempts to buy his own taxi, he approaches moneylenders to borrow money and set up an illegal factory. Once again, he is unable to pay the money back to them and unwittingly becomes embroiled in a gang war. As he meanders through his life with frustratingly little agency, the character, Dreamgirl (played by Madhuri Dixit), appears – a beautiful, serene mirage that becomes his only source of comfort. This encapsulates what cinema means to India – an escape from mounting bills, equated monthly instalments and infuriating socio-politics.

A good film, they say, is one that allows each one of its viewers to see a different film. A popcorn film, on the other hand, in its desperation to be understood by all, is typically understood to be tropey, allowing for little to no nuance. A perceived crowbar separation existed between the two, until recently.

In the years after Independence, several members of the Progressive Writers Association (PWA) and the Indian People's Theatre Association (IPTA) took the Hindi film industry by storm. Donning the roles of writers, lyricists and film-makers, they embedded radical reformist themes into mainstream cinema and discourse. These set the template for plot and character definition of Indian heroes, male and female, for decades.

Some of these became high grossers and the others, festival favourites. The holy grail – a combination of the two – remained numerically few. And, down south, the Kerala People's Arts Club (KPAC) determined much of the popular culture in Kerala and beyond. Anti-imperialist and socially progressive themes formed the crux of several commercial films of the time. Remakes of successful films across industries saw the building of a certain pan-Indian ethos that embraced ideas of Nehruvian socialism.

In the 1970s and 1980s, disillusionment with the system was at an all-time high. Audiences lashed out against an oppressive system vicariously through the 'angry young man'. The need for 'black and white hero defeats villain' narratives arose. For movie villains, it was a golden age. Uni-dimensional, megalomaniac despots were stand-ins for authority figures. 'Mogambo' and 'Gabbar Singh' were the catch words. Censorship ensured that important themes had to be 'smuggled into' the consciousness of the nation, and not spelt out. As a genre, horror, though not yet mainstream, thrived. The Ramsey brothers made films that had better initials than star vehicles at the time.



A still from the Shah Rukh Khan and Kajol starrer *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge*.

### The 'crossover' age

In the 1990s, with the advent of globalisation and privatisation of channels, a new kind of Indian film was born – the 'crossover' film. The characters, who were mostly urban, spoke in English with a smattering of the vernacular language. The genre-defining *Hyderabad Blues* featured Varun, a non-resident Indian, who was both baffled and struggling to navigate a now alien socio-cultural landscape to court his Indian love interest. The entry of the multiplex liberated the film-maker from having to create cinema that spoke to everyone. A film that resonated with only a niche audience could also guarantee a return on investment. This also gave rise to a new breed of producers who were willing to back less conventional projects that were not necessarily 'festival' or 'award' films.

At the other end of the spectrum was Bollywood's version of the NRI film. In the expensively mounted, wildly successful *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge*, Raj, the NRI hero, was seen chasing Simran, his NRI love interest, to India in order to convince her to break off her engagement with her Indian fiancé and marry him. The first half of the film featured a highly aspirational Europe trip that two young adults take on their own, while the second half hard-sold ideas of a traditional India where young adults could only meet in secret or in the company of elders This was a period that was also rife with war cries about there being 'threats to Indian culture' and laments that children of the MTV generation were rejecting their roots. Themes of nationalism and tradition, often couched in modernity, punctuated cinema across industries. The overseas sales of Indian cinema – notably Hindi, Tamil and Telugu – rose exponentially. Films such as *Dangal* and *Baahubali* also drew non-Indian viewership, signalling the opening up of hitherto unexplored markets.

### A demystification

The year 2010 and beyond saw the popularisation of digital film-making in India, where all of a sudden it was possible for anyone to make a film. Student film festivals and 'make-a-film' competitions sprung up across the country. It also led to a demystification of the process that made it possible to make films even outside the structures of traditional film industries. Access to different kinds of technology made it possible for film-makers to experiment with themes.

It is now the age of over-the-top (OTT) platforms and the rise of social media. There are algorithms that diligently (and alarmingly) track audience behaviour in real time. Earlier, while there were gaps in understanding that steered producers towards creating homogenous content (that guaranteed super hits), today, there is a more layered understanding of what an audience needs and wants, and also overlaps in markets that can be further exploited.

There is the understanding that someone who watches a film for 'young adults' may also watch a film about an expedition before even switching to fantasy. Notions of 'good' and 'mainstream' are constantly being reassessed and redefined. Audiences today have more agency than ever before in determining the kind of content that gets created.

They can choose exactly what they want to watch to escape mounting bills, EMIs and infuriating socio-politics.

*Shalini Ushadevi is a writer and director who won the Best Screenplay Award at the 68th National Film Awards in 2022 for her work on 'Soorarai Pottru'*

FROM PAGE ONE

# India proved sceptics wrong, says President

"Senior citizens among us have witnessed a dramatic change in their lifetime. They have seen how, after Independence, all the generations have toiled hard; how we met great challenges and how we have taken charge of our destiny. The lessons learnt in the process will prove useful as we move towards the next milestone in the journey of the nation - the *Amrit Kaal*, 25 years to the celebration of the centenary of our Independence," the President said and added that by the year 2047, we will have fully realised the dreams of our freedom fighters. "We will have given a concrete shape to the vision of those who, led by Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar, drafted the Constitution. We are already on course to build an Atmanirbhar Bharat, an India that would have realised its true potential," she said.

Ms. Murmu said the COVID-19 pandemic has uprooted lives and also economies in the entire world. "When the world has been battling the economic consequences of the great crisis, India got its act together and is now moving forward. India is among the fastest growing major economies in the world," she added. She credited the government and policy-makers for beating the global trend and helping the economy flourish. "During the last few years, unprecedented progress has been made in the development of physical and digital infrastructure," she said adding that the growth is becoming more inclusive and regional disparities too are reducing.

Ms. Murmu said economic success is leading to an ease in living too. "The keyword for India today is compassion; for the downtrodden, for the needy and for those on the margins," she said. Ms. Murmu said when works are done with the spirit of 'Nation First', it is bound to reflect in every decision and every sector. "This is also reflected in India's standing in the world," she said. Quoting Kannada poet Kuvempu, she urged the youth to make total sacrifice for the motherland and upliftment of citizens.

# Be vigilant about threats to country, says Kharge

## 'Happy serving nation for 50 years'

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT
NEW DELHI

Mallikarjun Kharge

India celebrating her 75th year of Independence is truly a momentous occasion for each and every Indian, said Leader of the Opposition (LoP) in the Rajya Sabha Mallikarjun Kharge.

"As we celebrate 75 years of Independence, we see that India has emerged as one of the strongest democracies of the world and also one of the largest economies of the world," Mr. Kharge said, adding that in the past 15 years, India managed to lift 27 crore people out of poverty and strengthen our rural economy.

He said his social background and personal experiences always made him worry that the country's hard-fought independence, political and social freedom and rights for every citizen of the country can be lost very quickly if people are not willing to be vigilant about the threats to our country and society.

"The younger generation who have not faced discrimination or loss of freedom may not share my apprehensions. However, I am sure they will always stand up to protect the constitution, the rights of every citizen, and the unity and integrity of our country whenever needed," Mr. Kharge said. Independence was made possible due to the long and hard struggle of crores of freedom fighters under many illustrious leaders, he said. "It is their sacrifice, and their blood, sweat and tears that laid the foundation for a modern and free India," he noted.

Mr. Kharge, a former Railways Minister in the UPA government, stated that he has had the privilege of serving the country and its people for 50 years now.

"The strength of Indian democracy and our Constitution can be measured from the fact that a person like me who hails from the depressed section of the society has the opportunity to serve the people as an elected representative for five decades. I am also one of the few people in Parliament today who was born before the Independence," Mr. Kharge added.

INTERVIEW | U.U. LALIT

# 'Women find judicial career acceptable'

## Any criticism about validity or correctness of a judgment is welcome: CJI-designate

KRISHNADAS RAJAGOPAL

*Justice* **Uday Umesh Lalit** *is the Chief Justice of India-designate. He is scheduled to take over as the 49th Chief Justice of India on August 27. Justice Lalit is only the second direct appointee from the Bar to be appointed the Chief Justice of India. Excerpts:*

**Do you feel the retirement age of Supreme Court judges should be increased from 65 to 67 years?**

■ We came here on the Bench because our predecessors retired at the age of 65. So, it is inter-generational equity. If we stay here, perhaps the next generation of judges will not have quicker elevation to the Bench... This is a matter of policy which the lawmakers have to decide.

**Do you feel the court needs more women judges?**

■ Of course, yes. The ethos is changing. Recently, I went to an event for inducting new judges in Rajasthan. Of about 190 of them, 129 were women. Again, in Odisha, in a similar event, 65% of the new judges were women. The percentage of women judicial officers is increasing. Women find judicial career acceptable. Today, if you think of the first 100 judges of the high courts, not more than 10 are women. The picture may change in 10-15 years. Today we are completing 75 years, maybe when we complete 100 years, the ratio (women judges) will be different.

**The Supreme Court has been recently vocal on the "indiscriminate" use of arrest powers by law enforcement agencies. Is there a need to re-look at the criminal justice system?**

■ Once a court is looking into it, we should not comment. Theoretically, if you want to relax certain conditions or to say that persons in certain situations should not be arrested, it is normal for the legislature to do that. For instance, under Section 437 (of the Cr.PC), women, children, the infirm or old persons are taken to be as a special category where your normal logic or conditions must be relaxed and the balance must be tilted in favour of these persons. It is not as if the Parliament has not noted it. The Parliament is cognisant of that, aware of that.

**On social media or electronic media criticism about the conduct of judges?**

**Criticism of the conduct of a judge does not strengthen the institution**

■ Everything can be discussed on the floor of the House except the conduct of the judge. Except when impeachment motion is considered in the Parliament. There are two compartments – the 'judgment compartment' and the 'judge compartment'. Any criticism about the validity or correctness of a judgment is welcome. It strengthens the institution, the process of law and administration of justice. Criticism of the conduct of a judge does not strengthen the institution, is not good for the society. Anybody who criticises a judgment should maintain a line and not overstep. A judge cannot respond. He or she suffocates under the barrage of criticism.

**Should death sentence be struck off the law?**

■ Constitutionally, death sentence is permissible, provided the parameters laid down in the *Bachan Singh* judgment are adhered to. The endeavour of every court is to see whether every case comes within the exceptions or not. As a judge I cannot say the death sentence should not be granted. I will see whether the facts justify the imposition of death penalty or not.

**On the virtual court system?**

■ Virtual courts are opening up new frontiers. Lawyers from the Madras High Court can appear in the Supreme Court on any given day. It is opening new vistas. It is a welcome idea.

**On the work of the collegium in filling up judicial vacancies?**

■ The Collegium presided over by Chief Justice of India N.V. Ramana, of which I and Justice A.M. Khanwilkar were part of, made 255 recommendations to the High Courts. That is one-third of the entire strength of the High Courts. If responses are quick and immediate and if there is merit and talent, there would be no delay.

# A cross-border family's visa travails

Traditionally, the Sodhas do not marry within their own clan and have always intermarried with other Rajput clans in India, with a special visa mandate to travel back and forth agreed to for them some decades ago. Mr. Singh's father was from Pakistan, his mother belongs to India, and his brother and sister, born in Pakistan, now live in Jodhpur and Jaisalmer, respectively.

Mr. Singh and Magan married in Jodhpur in 1996, and she moved to Pakistan, but died of hepatitis in 2012, leaving a son, Chander Veer Singh, 22, and daughters, Meena, 21 and Disha, 13. A year later, he and Magan's cousin Dimple Kanwar married, and had two children, Kuleep, 8 and Priya, 4. The couple chose to bring up all the five children together in India.

In fact, according to the Sodha community leaders interviewed by local media, as many as 900 Sodhas found themselves and their families blacklisted, as visa regulations between the two countries were tightened, and the special mandate was rescinded. External Affairs and Home Ministry officials declined to comment on the reasons for the visa denials.

**Bilateral tensions**

As India and Pakistan shut down borders, exchanges, trade, and people-to-people ties over the next few years due to bilateral tensions and the COVID-19 pandemic, Mr. Singh began to lose hope of visiting India again, though he kept applying for his visa each time he received a rejection.

Ms. Kanwar too drafted letter after letter of appeal to officials in the Rajasthan government and the two Ministries. "I humbly request on humanitarian grounds that the visa/clearance may be granted, so that our disturbed family [can be reunited], and our kids may receive the supervision of both their parents," Ms. Kanwar wrote in a November 2021 letter.

The frustrations multiply, says Mr. Singh, given just how close they are to each other (just about 400 km) on the map.

# 107 medals for armed forces

## They include three Kirti Chakras and 13 Shaurya Chakras, says Defence Ministry

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT
NEW DELHI

As many as 107 gallantry awards to the armed forces and Central Armed Police Forces (CAPF) were approved by President Droupadi Murmu to ,mark Independence Day, which include three Kirti Chakras and 13 Shaurya Chakras, a statement by the Ministry of Defence said.

Two Bar to Sena medals, 81 Sena Medals, one Nao Sena Medal and seven Vayu Sena medals were also announced on Sunday.

The President approved 40 Mention-in-Despatches to the Army, one to the Air Force and another to the Army Dog, Axel (posthumously), for their significant contributions in different military operations, including Operation Snow Leopard and Operation Trikut.

The 2020 Galwan clashes in Ladakh in which 20 soldiers were killed in violent clashes with the Chinese People's Liberation Army was code-named Operation Snow Leopard.

Havildar Ghanshyam (left) and Jasbir Singh (posthumous) selected for the Shaurya Chakra • SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT

Naik Devendra Pratap Singh from the Army was awarded Kirti Chakra for displaying indomitable courage and devotion beyond call of duty resulting in elimination of two hardcore terrorists at Pulwama in Jammu and Kashmir.

**Shaurya Chakra**

As many as eight Army personnel, two of them posthumously, and one from the Navy were awarded Shaurya Chakra. Of the eight Army personnel, two are from the Para Special Forces while others were with the Rashtriya Rifles in the Kashmir Valley. All awards were for counter-terror and counter-insurgency operations in Jammu and Kashmir, an official said.

Constable Sudip Sarkar and sub-inspector Paotinsat Guite from the Border Security Force (BSF) were awarded Kirti Chakra posthumously. Kirti Chakra is awarded for acts of bravery away from the field of battle.

Sarkar was patrolling the Line of Control (LoC) in Jammu and Kashmir's Kupwara on November 7 and 8, 2020, when he spotted terrorists trying to infiltrate.

He engaged the terrorists in a hand-to-hand combat, killing one of them, but succumbed to injuries. Guite engaged with a terrorist group on December 1, 2020, near the LoC and despite receiving a bullet, killed one of the terrorists. He succumbed to his injuries.

Amit Kumar, Assistant Commandant, Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF); Somay Vinayak Munde, Additional Superintendent of Police, Maharashtra; Ravindra Kashinath Naitam, Police Naik, Maharashtra; and Tikaram Sampatrao Katenge from the Maharashtra Police were awarded Shaurya Chakras.

The President approved one President's Tatrakshak Medal and three Tatrakshak Medals to Coast Guard personnel for conspicuous gallantry, exceptional devotion to duty and distinguished/meritorious service.

# 1,082 police personnel receive service medals

## Gallantry medals awarded to 347

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT
NEW DELHI

As many as 1,082 police personnel were awarded Police Medals on the occasion of Independence Day, the Union Home Ministry said in a statement on Sunday. The number of police personnel who received gallantry medals stood at 347.

"A total of 204 personnel are being awarded for their gallant action in Jammu and Kashmir, 80 personnel for their gallant action in Left Wing Extremism-affected areas and 14 personnel for their gallant action in North-East Region," the Ministry said.

Among the personnel who received Gallantry Awards, 109 are from the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), 108 from the J&K Police, 19 from the Border Security Force (BSF), 42 from Maharashtra, 15 from Chhattisgarh and six each from the Sashastra Seema Bal (SSB) and the ITBP.

Umesh Chandra Bhadola of the ITBP. • SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT

The CRPF's Srinagar sector under Inspector General Charu Sinha bagged 40 gallantry medals, highest in the country, among all the forces. ITBP spokesperson Vivek Kumar Pandey said that its personnel received 20 medals, which include three President's police medal for distinguished service and 11 police medals for meritorious service. Those awarded the bravery medals include Assistant Commandants Prabhat Mukul Martin Minz and Amit Kumar, and Assistant Sub-Inspector Kuldip Raj.

# Political row over Partition remembrance

Last year, Mr. Modi announced that August 14 would be observed as the Partition Horrors Remembrance Day, which would keep reminding the countrymen of the need to "remove the poison of social divisions, disharmony and further strengthen the spirit of oneness, social harmony and human empowerment".

On Sunday, Union Home Minister Amit Shah also took to Twitter to say: "The partition of the country in 1947 is that inhuman chapter of Indian history which can never be forgotten. The violence and hatred of Partition claimed millions of lives and displaced innumerable people."

BJP president J.P. Nadda, who participated in a silent procession in the evening to mark the occasion, tweeted: "I solemnly remember those who paid an unbearable price during Partition. We must never forget how politics of selfishness & personal interests led to Partition & pain."

**BJP's video**

Earlier, the BJP - through its Twitter handle - released an over a seven-minute-long video in which the role of the then Congress and Communist leaders was questioned.

The party said: "Those who had no knowledge of India's cultural heritage, civilization, values, pilgrimages, in just three weeks, they drew the border between people living together for centuries. Where were those people at that time who had the responsibility of fighting against these divisive forces?"

**Congress responds**

Responding to this, Jairam Ramesh, Congress general secretary in-charge of communication, said in a series of tweets in Hindi, "The real intent of PM [Prime Minister] to mark August 14 as Partition Horrors Remembrance Day is to use the most traumatic historical events as fodder for his current political battles. Lakhs upon lakhs were dislocated and lost their lives. Their sacrifices must not be forgotten or disrespected."

He further added: "The tragedy of partition, cannot be misused to fuel hate & prejudice. The truth is Savarkar originated 2 nation theory and Jinnah perfected it. Sardar Patel wrote, "I felt that if we did not accept partition, India would be split into many bits and would be completely ruined."

# Death of Dalit boy sparks tension in Rajasthan village

## Father says teacher thrashed him for drinking water from pot

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT
JAIPUR

Tensions broke out at Surana village in Sayla tehsil of Jalore district of Rajasthan on Sunday as the body of a nine-year-old Dalit boy, who died after being beaten up allegedly by his schoolteacher, was brought home. The cremation could not be held till late in the evening.

According to the police, the teacher, Chhail Singh, 40, thrashed the boy and threw casteist slurs at him when he touched an earthen pot kept aside for him and drank water from it.

Inder Meghwal was admitted to hospitals in Jalore, Bhinmal and Udaipur in Rajasthan before being shifted to Ahmedabad, where he died on Saturday.

His father, Deva Ram, said in his complaint that Inder had sustained injuries in his right ear and eye. There was bleeding from the ear and the eye was sore. Inder's family members and villagers staged a demonstration demanding strict action against Mr. Singh and cancellation of recognition of the private school, Saraswati Vidya Mandir.

Dalit Shoshan Mukti Manch activists staging a demonstration at Ambedkar Circle in Alwar . • SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT.

The police used force to disperse a crowd which hurled stones at the policemen after raising demands for higher compensation and a government job to one of the family members. Mobile Internet services were suspended in the district for 24 hours. Senior administrative and police officers earlier went to Surana and met Inder's family members. They informed the family that Mr. Singh had been arrested.

The accused has been booked under Section 302 (murder) of the Indian Penal Code and provisions of the Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act.

The investigation has been taken up under the "case officer scheme", in which a single police officer follows up prosecution of the accused till the conclusion of the trial. Chief Minister Ashok Gehlot announced a financial assistance of ₹5 lakh to the family.

# '138 judicial appointments so far in 2022'

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT
NEW DELHI

With 11 new High Court judges appointed on Sunday, the government has created a record by making 138 judicial appointments so far this year. The earlier record of 126 High Court appointments in 2016 has been surpassed, a Law Ministry statement said. In 2021, the appointments in High Courts was 120, but the Supreme Court had nine appointments. "Thus, the entire appointment process in higher judiciary has been put on a fast track," said the Ministry. On Saturday, the Ministry notified the appointment of 26 judges in courts of Allahabad, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Gauhati, Orissa and Himachal Pradesh.

# Correction

The photo that accompanied the report headlined "Taliban offer security to Indian mission" is of the Indian embassy in Beijing and not as printed. The error is regretted.

# 30 CBI officials selected for President's medal

## 24 honoured for meritorious service

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT
NEW DELHI

The Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) has bagged 30 President's Police Medal for distinguished service, and Police Medal for meritorious service on the occasion of Independence Day.

While the President's Police Medal for distinguished service has been awarded to six officials, the Police Medal for meritorious service has been conferred on 24 others.

Among the recipients of medals for distinguished service are Additional Superintendent of Police Alok Kumar; Deputy SPs Atul Hajela, Tejprakash Devrani and T.Sridharan; Sub-Inspector Gurmeet Singh and Assistant Sub-Inspector Narpat Singh.

**Meritorious service**

Deputy Inspector General Keshav Ram, who supervised the probe in the coal scam, Additional Legal Advisor Vijay Kumar Sharma, who was instrumental in preparing the case for the agency, were awarded the Police Medal for meritorious service.

**APPEAL**

**One year old Baby Grace Milo Diviny** is suffering from Acute Myeloid Leukemia. Her father is a daily wage earner who cannot bear the expenditure of **Rs.8,00,000/-** to undergo Chemotherapy at Meenakshi Mission Hospital & Research Centre, Madurai. She needs your blessings and support. Donations sent by Ch/D.D. favouring **Meenakshi Mission Hospital & Research Centre, Madurai will be acknowledged.** The donations sent through Ch/D.D/NEFT Transfer & GOOGLE PAY (Canara Bank, Nungambakkam Branch A/C No.60182010063310, IFSC No. CNRB0016018) favouring **WOMEN'S WELFARE SYNDICATE** is exempted under 80G IT.

All correspondence is done through **WWS**, Regd. Public Charitable Trust, **Flat No.GF 1, Cordel Apartments, O.No.13, N.No.29, Pycrofts Garden Lane, Chennai - 600006. Ph: 044-42137401/28235324/7338878827. E Mail ID: womenswelfaresyndicate@gmail.com** Website: www.womenswelfaresyndicate.org

**WWS**

# Over 74 lakh cases cleared by Lok Adalat

LEGAL CORRESPONDENT
NEW DELHI

Over 74 lakh pending and pre-litigation cases, many of them part of a huge backlog created by the pandemic, were settled across the country in the third National Lok Adalat.

In a move away from convention, the legal services authorities under Chief Justice of India-designate, Justice U.U. Lalit, who is the executive chairman of the National Legal Services Authority (NALSA), used technological platforms to conduct 'digital lok adalat' in Maharashtra and Rajasthan.

Of the over 74 lakh disposed cases, 16.45 lakh disputes were pending and another 58.33 lakh were in pre-litigation stages.

"The total value of the settlement amount is approximately ₹5,039 crore," NALSA said in a statement on Saturday.

In an interaction with legal services authorities' officials, Justice Lalit said that lok adalats have "not only become an efficient substitute to seek redressal, but help in reducing the burden of the courts pertaining to backlog and pendency of cases."

# Kashmir's volatile pockets see flag hoisting, rallies on I-Day eve

## Multi-layered security has been put in place in the Union Territory for today

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT
SRINAGAR

The Kashmir Valley witnessed major events to hoist the Tricolour on Sunday, the eve of Independence Day, even in those areas that were a hub of militants and prone to frequent street protests in the past. Meanwhile, multi-layered security was put in place ahead of the main functions on Monday in the Union Territory (U.T.).

J&K Lieutenant-Governor Manoj Sinha participated in a walkathon to celebrate the *Har Ghar Tiranga* campaign. "Raising Pakistani flag is history. Now only the Indian flag will fly here. Earlier, there were less efforts to get people to raise the *tiranga*. Now there are efforts and people want to raise the flag," Mr. Sinha said, in an interview to a TV channel during the walkathon.

Srinagar district established a national record by displaying a 1,850-metre-long National Flag at Bakshi Stadium. Around 500 persons were engaged to roll and unroll the flag.

"It took 10 days to stitch the record 1,850-metre-long flag," an official said. The flag was made of Khadi.

Mubarak Mandi Heritage Complex illuminated during 'Azadi ka Amrit Mahotsav' on Independence Day eve in Jammu. •PTI

In Pulwama of south Kashmir, over 1,000 schoolchildren arranged themselves in the colours of the National Flag. They also made a special pattern, by seating themselves in a way that depicted "75 years: *Azadi ka Amrit Mahotsav*" on the synthetic turf of the school, a government spokesman said.

"The mega rallies held in Tral and Pulwama town saw participation of a huge number of youth and students. The Tricolour was being hoisted in the shops and other establishments, especially in the market of Pulwama town besides private houses," Deputy Commissioner Baseer-ul-Haq said.

Pulwama has been a militancy hotbed and saw repeated anti-India street protests in the past.

A 22-km stretch of the National Highway in Pulwama district was also bedecked with buntings and the National Flag.

In north Kashmir's Kupwara, over 5,000 students held a mega rally to celebrate *Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav*.

In Baramulla, scores of self-help groups run by women were roped in to maintain the supply of the Tricolour, as multiple functions and rallies were organised in the district.

The Army also inaugurated the 108-foot-high National Flag at Hyderbaigh, Pattan in north Kashmir's Baramulla.

### Security heightened

Meanwhile, security has been heightened across J&K ahead of the main functions of the I-Day on Monday.

"Multi-layered security arrangements have been put in place. Technology is being used at several sensitive locations to make the security grid more vigilant," Director General of Police Dilbag Singh said.

He said young boys were being roped in as hybrid militancy. "But many youth who had gone astray were counseled by the security forces and handed over to their parents," he said.

He said the militancy graph was going down. "More needs to be done to further reduce the militancy graph," he added.

The policeman, who was injured in a grenade attack by militants in Kulgam on Saturday evening, died of his injuries on Sunday.

# Stock investor Rakesh Jhunjhunwala passes away

## His acumen earned him the title 'India's Warren Buffet'

LALATENDU MISHRA
MUMBAI

Billionaire stock investor and an early backer of the latest entrant to India's aviation sector Akasa Air, Rakesh Jhunjhunwala, passed away in Mumbai on Sunday morning following a prolonged illness. He was 62.

He is survived by his wife Rekha, who is also an avid investor, and three children.

The son of an Income Tax officer, Mr. Jhunjhunwala took to investing in stocks as a career and built his fortune through his investment firm RARE Enterprises. With an estimated net worth of $5.8 billion, *Forbes* had ranked him as India's 36th richest individual.

His investing acumen, particularly his ability to pick up low-priced quality stocks, earned him the soubriquet 'India's Warren Buffet'. A chartered accountant by qualification, Mr. Jhunjhunwala is reported to have started investing in stocks in 1985 with an initial capital of ₹5,000.

Commanding a large following of retail investors, Mr. Jhunjhunwala had his most famous recent investment in the low-cost airline Akasa Air, which started commercial flight operations last week.

Rakesh Jhunjhunwala

"Rakesh Jhunjhunwala started as a street smart investor who knew how to play on fear and greed," said Arun Kejriwal, founder of Kejriwal Research. "He was a speculator, an investor and an entrepreneur. The important lesson that he has taught the market is that no matter how big your position is, you need to call it quits when the market goes against you," he added.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi said in a tweet, "Rakesh Jhunjhunwala was indomitable. Full of life, witty and insightful, he leaves behind an indelible contribution to the financial world. He was also very passionate about India's progress. His passing away is saddening."

Vinay Dube, Founder & CEO, Akasa Air, said, "We at Akasa cannot thank Mr. Jhunjhunwala enough for being an early believer in us and putting his trust and faith in us to build a world-class airline. Mr. Jhunjhunwala had an invincible spirit, was deeply passionate about everything Indian and cared greatly for the well-being of our employees and customers. Akasa Air will honour Mr. Jhunjhunwala's legacy, values and belief in us by striving to run a great airline."

Mr. Jhunjhunwala's portfolio included Star Health, Nazara Technologies, Tata Motors, IHCL, Agro Tech Foods, Canara Bank, Escorts, Rallis India and Titan. He was on the boards of several companies including Aptech and Hungama Media. "Rakesh Jhunjhunwala believed in India and the sheer potential of the country," Tata Sons chairman N. Chandrasekaran said.

# Plum portfolios with BJP in Maharashtra

## Fadnavis in charge of Home, Finance

SHOUMOJIT BANERJEE
PUNE

Less than a week after the expansion of the new Maharashtra Cabinet, Chief Minister Eknath Shinde on Sunday announced the portfolios for 18 Ministers inducted in the first phase.

While the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) Ministers, particularly Devendra Fadnavis, largely kept the portfolios that were held by the Nationalist Congress Party (NCP) in the erstwhile Maha Vikas Aghadi government, the Sena faction led by Mr. Shinde kept those that were held by the Shiv Sena and the Congress in the previous regime.

The allocation was announced after the list was approved by Governor Bhagat Singh Koshyari.

With more than 20 Cabinet berths yet to be filled, Mr. Shinde has decided to keep the Urban Development portfolio along with General Administration, Information and Technology, Public Works (Public Projects), Transport, Relief and Rehabilitation, along with others yet to be allotted.

The Bharatiya Janata Party now holds many of the plum portfolios. Deputy Chief Minister Devendra Fadnavis was given Home, Finance and Planning, Law and Justice, and Water Resources.

Eknath Shinde keeps the Urban Development portfolio. •PTI

Senior BJP leader Radhakrishna Vikhe Patil (a long-time Congressman who switched sides in 2019) was given the Revenue, and Animal Husbandry and Dairy Development portfolios.

Atul Save, BJP MLA from Aurangabad and a first-time Cabinet Minister, was given the crucial Cooperation portfolio, which many thought would be allotted to Mr. Vikhe Patil.

In contrast to the fellow BJP leaders, other Ministers of the Shiv Sena (Shinde faction) seem to have been allotted 'lesser' portfolios.

# Behind BJP's break with old allies

## Electorally dominant party is aggressive in expanding its support base

NISTULA HEBBAR
NEW DELHI

At a meeting of the Maharashtra Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) held in 2013, just after Prime Minister Narendra Modi had been declared the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) candidate for that post, he asked leaders of the State unit as to why workers of the then ally Shiv Sena were deputed to polling booths for the BJP candidate.

After some back and forth between leaders, Mr. Modi declared that only BJP booth-level workers would be deployed in constituencies where party candidates were fighting.

This was one of the first indications that the BJP would be pushing some boundaries in the two-decade-old alliance. That alliance subsequently broke. Last week in Bihar, for the second time, the BJP lost its old ally, the Janata Dal (United). This come after having lost one of its oldest ally, the Akali Dal, while in the throes of the farmers' protest.

Narendra Modi

These breaks from its legacy allies have invited allegations of the BJP being predatory with regard to the support bases of its allies, or plain old hubris. That the BJP is not amenable to playing nice any more has been made very clear, but political scientist Rahul Verma, associated with the Centre for Policy Research, says it's the logic of power at work.

### 'A dominant party'

"The behaviour of the BJP vis-a-vis its allies of the past is a function of power, of negotiating from a position of strength rather than emotional disconnect. It is an electorally dominant party, and is aggressive in wanting to expand its base. If it is not behaving like the party with 138 seats that it had in 2004, there is a cold hard calculation to back it," he said.

"In Bihar, the particularities of the situation may differ, but the nature of the BJP is now that of a dominant party," he added. He emphasised that India has now incontrovertibly entered the fourth party system.

The first and second party system in India was dominated by the Congress in the years following Independence, from 1947 to around 1989.

From 1989 to 2014, India saw an era of coalition politics, its third party system, where the BJP and the Congress were the main poles

This era came to an end in 2014 with Narendra Modi at the helm of the BJP.

# U.P. police say another Jaish terrorist arrested

STAFF REPORTER
LUCKNOW

The Anti-Terrorist Squad (ATS) of the Uttar Pradesh Police on Sunday arrested an alleged Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM) terrorist, Habibul Islam alias Saifullah, from Kanpur.

Saifullah's name cropped up during the interrogation of Muhammad Nadeem, who was arrested on Friday.

"Saifullah is an expert in creating fake virtual IDs for terror outfits based in Pakistan and Afghanistan. He used social media platforms to keep in touch with his handlers," said the ATS.

# PUCL condemns attack on Salman Rushdie

STAFF REPORTER
CHENNAI

The People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL) has strongly condemned the recent attack on author Salman Rushdie in New York.

In a statement issued on Sunday, the organisation said the Indian-born author has stood throughout his life for the right to artistic expression, to speak truth to power, and to offend, shock and disturb. The statement said "nobody has the right to not be offended."

The PUCL expressed concern over lack of security at the event in New York.

# Govt. lost ₹8,000 cr. due to five cases: NITI Aayog

## 'SC should consider economic impact'

STAFF REPORTER
NEW DELHI

A recent report commissioned by the NITI Aayog has estimated that five orders of the Supreme Court and the National Green Tribunal favouring larger protection for the environment had cost the government around ₹8,000 crore in revenue.

It recommends that the court undertake economic-impact analysis, based on forecasts put together by a group of experts, to address and adjudicate public interest cases involving economically sensitive matters.

### Cases in spotlight

The report, prepared by Jaipur-based CUTS (Consumer Unity & Trust Society) International, studied the following five cases: the Mopa airport case, where the court required undertakings from the concessionaire GMR Goa International Airport Limited (GGIAL) ensuring additional environmental safeguards; the Goa mining cases, during which the court on two occasions cancelled iron ore mining licenses in Goa – the latest one in a 2018 case where Vedanta Group was arguing that their licence was still operational; the Sterlite Copper case; the regulation of sand mining; and the banning of construction activities in the National Capital Region to curb air pollution.

The report, after measuring the economic impact of judicial interventions in these cases, estimated that the government lost out on a possible revenue of ₹8,000 crore between mid-2018 and mid-2021, which if invested as capital expenditure, could have resulted in an economic impact of around ₹20,000 crore.

After submitting that the economic impact in these cases included a loss of ₹15,000 crore in possible revenue to the industry and ₹500 crore in wages, the report suggested that the SC should engage experts including economists, environmentalists, and sociologists, among others, to conduct an economic-impact assessment in cases "involving economic sensitive matters".

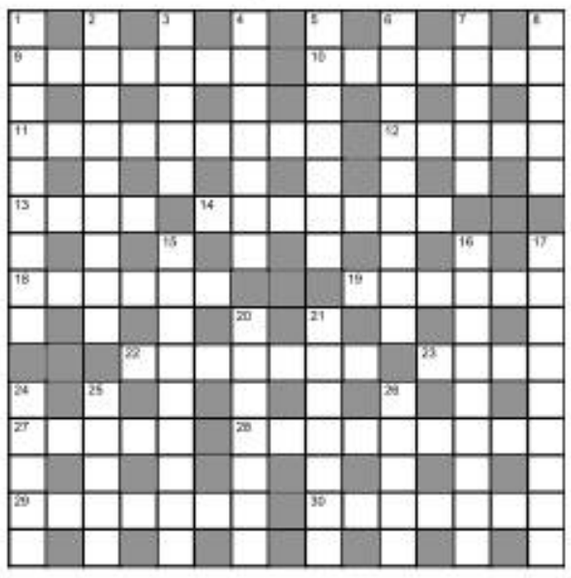
The CUTS report also concludes that the judiciary should institutionalise the idea of a cost-benefit analysis as part of their decision-making, and the authorities should consider qualitative indicators that might not necessarily be quantifiable.

# THE HINDU CROSSWORD + 13635

(set by Vidwan)

To solve this puzzle online, get across to our crossword site @ *https://qrgo.page.link/jjpTn*

SCAN



**Across**

**9** Most nuclear waste relocation in the east is messy (7)
**10** Restrain men at pub consumed by self-importance (7)
**11** Step out with fellow spending millions a month (9)
**12** Mocking right away like Greek? (5)
**13** Smell of inlet off western coast (4)
**14** Use a GPS slyly as surveillance tool (7)
**18** Lines up! Time to join army (6)
**19** Colourless Marconi blanched up inside (6)
**22** Club occasionally appeared in Madras, way back (7)
**23** Freed of desire? Promiscuously single! (4)
**27** One who doesn't drink has little to chirp (5)
**28** Background work by everyone, every year and for everyone (9)
**29** I'm corona (not the last) variant! (7)
**30** Special kind of lens for a special lady's latest frame (7)

**Down**

**1** Found out about United Nations Security Council Resolution on radiation shield (9)
**2** Mouth organ music? (1,8)
**3** Lesser, half-hearted passion (5)
**4** Helped fit into finale (7)
**5** Go back and host party again (7)
**6** Without doubt, boy's soul travels around void occasionally (9)
**7** Scene near a ground (5)
**8** Duke and Knight going bit sober in Scotland (5)
**15** A brisk walk through breaking waves on beach or some man-made stretch of grass (9)
**16** Abductor or lullaby singing babysitter? (9)
**17** Sounds like a festival booking for priests (4,5)
**20** Spirit of the masses? (3,4)
**21** Counter gold display (7)
**24** Taming the most unbounded spirit (5)
**25** Partly second-rate American news organisation (5)
**26** Initiations of Eleusinian practices or philosophical traditions for the beginner (5)

# SUDOKU

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 8 | 3 | | 1 | | | | |
| | | 4 | | | 7 | | | |
| | 1 | | | 8 | 2 | | | 4 |
| | 6 | | 1 | | | 7 | | 3 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | | 9 | | | 3 | | 5 | |
| 3 | | | 7 | 9 | | | 1 | |
| | | | 2 | | | 6 | | |
| | | | | 4 | | 3 | 8 | 7 |

DIFFICULTY RATING: ★★★★★

Solution to puzzle 13634

Solution to yesterday's Sudoku

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 7 | 4 | 3 | 8 | 2 | 6 | 9 | 5 |
| 3 | 5 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 9 | 1 | 4 | 2 |
| 6 | 2 | 9 | 1 | 5 | 4 | 7 | 3 | 8 |
| 9 | 4 | 6 | 8 | 7 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 3 |
| 7 | 3 | 2 | 9 | 4 | 5 | 8 | 1 | 6 |
| 5 | 8 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 6 | 9 | 7 | 4 |
| 4 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 9 | 8 | 2 | 5 | 7 |
| 2 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 7 | 3 | 8 | 9 |
| 8 | 9 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 1 |

FAITH

# Concern for Krishna

Periyazhvar sang his pallandu verses to ward off evil eyes from Lord Narayana. The verses include ones sung to different avataras of the Lord. The first avatara referred to is Krishna. Rama and Narasimha are also praised, but the Krishna avatara which came later gets Periyazhvar's attention first. Nanjeeyar wondered why such extraordinary concern was shown to Krishna, rather than to Rama, said M.A. Venkatakrishnan in a discourse.

Nanjeeyar's Acharya Parasara Bhatta was a great scholar, handpicked by Ramanujacharya to succeed him. Bhatta explained the reason for the special consideration shown to Krishna. Rama's father was a king. He had as advisers scholarly sages like Vasishtha. Rama was born in a palace, and was adored by not only the citizens of Ayodhya, but even by the vegetation in Ayodhya. When Rama's coronation was announced, plants rejoiced. When He was exiled, they wilted. Yodhya means that which can be subjugated. Ayodhya means that which cannot be conquered. Such was the nature of the city in which Rama was born. So His safety was never in doubt.

But Krishna was born in a jail, not far from the palace of Kamsa, who was determined to kill Him. In Gokula, Krishna was threatened by demons all the time. Putana tried to poison Him. Cakatasura tried to crush Him to death. One asura took the form of a calf. Krishna's foster father was no emperor. Nor did he have ministers to advise him. Rama avatara was in Treta yuga, when the threats to dharma were not so many. But Krishna was born towards the end of Dwapara yuga, when Kali yuga was about to begin. Given all these circumstances, was it any surprise that Periyazhvar was more worried about Krishna than about Rama?

# Rushdie on road to recovery, says agent

## Taken off ventilator; despite severe injuries, his feisty & defiant sense of humour remains intact, says son

ASSOCIATED PRESS
NEW YORK

Salman Rushdie is "on the road to recovery," his agent confirmed on Sunday, two days after the author of *The Satanic Verses* suffered serious injuries in a stabbing at a lecture in upstate New York.

The announcement followed news that the lauded writer was removed from a ventilator on Saturday and able to talk and joke. Literary agent Andrew Wylie cautioned that although Rushdie's "condition is headed in the right direction," his recovery would be a long process. Rushdie, 75, suffered a damaged liver and severed nerves in an arm and an eye, Mr. Wylie had previously said, and was likely to lose the injured eye.

"Though his life changing injuries are severe, his usual feisty & defiant sense of humour remains intact," Rushdie's son Zafar Rushdie said in a Sunday statement that stressed the author remained in critical condition.

**Pulling through:** Salman Rushdie attending a National Book Awards ceremony in New York, in this file photo. •AP

The statement on behalf of the family also expressed gratitude for the "audience members who bravely leapt to his defence," as well as police, doctors and "the outpouring of love and support from around the world."

**Suspect pleads not guilty**

Hadi Matar, 24, of Fairview, New Jersey, pleaded not guilty Saturday to attempted murder and assault charges in what a prosecutor called "a targeted, unprovoked, preplanned attack" at the Chautauqua Institution, a nonprofit education and retreat centre.

The suspect appeared in court wearing a black and white jumpsuit and a white face mask, with his hands cuffed in front of him.

A judge ordered him held without bail after District Attorney Jason Schmidt told her Matar took steps to purposely put himself in position to harm Rushdie, getting an advance pass to the event where the author was speaking and arriving a day early bearing a fake ID.

"This was a targeted, unprovoked, preplanned attack on Mr. Rushdie," Mr. Schmidt said.

The attack was met with global shock and outrage, along with praise for the man who, for more than three decades, has weathered death threats and a $3 million bounty on his head for *The Satanic Verses*. Rushdie even spent nine years in hiding under a British government protection program.

Authors, activists and government officials cited Rushdie's bravery and longtime championing of free speech in the face of such intimidation. Writer and longtime friend Ian McEwan labeled Rushdie "an inspirational defender of persecuted writers and journalists".

"Salman Rushdie – with his insight into humanity, with his unmatched sense for story, with his refusal to be intimidated or silenced – stands for essential, universal ideals," U.S. President Joe Biden said in a Saturday statement. "Truth. Courage. Resilience. The ability to share ideas without fear."

# Electrical fire at Egypt's Coptic church kills 41, mostly children

## Blaze blocked an entrance to the church, causing a stampede

REUTERS
CAIRO

An electrical fire swept through an Egyptian Coptic Christian church during Mass on Sunday, causing a stampede and killing at least 41 people, most of them children, security sources said.

The blaze started just before 9 a.m. in the Abu Sifin church in the city of Giza where 5,000 people had gathered.

The fire blocked an entrance to the church, causing the stampede, the two sources said, adding that most of those killed were children.

"People were gathering on the third and fourth floor, and we saw smoke coming from the second floor. People rushed to go down the stairs and started falling on top of each other," said worshipper Yasir Munir.

A view of the damage at the Coptic church in Giza on Sunday. •AFP

"Then we heard a bang and sparks and fire coming out of the window," he said, saying he and his daughter were able to escape.

Electrical fires of this kind are not a rare occurrence in Egypt; in late 2020, a fire at a hospital treating COVID-19 patients killed seven people and injured several others.

In a statement, the Interior Ministry said a forensic examination showed that the fire began in the second floor air conditioning as a result of an electrical malfunction.

Smoke inhalation was the main cause of death, it said. Families of those who died will receive 1,00,000 Egyptian pounds ($5,220), according to a cabinet statement.

"I offer my sincere condolences to the families of the innocent victims that have passed on to be with their Lord in one of his houses of worship," said Egyptian President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi in a tweet.

Giza, Egypt's second-largest city, lies just across the Nile from Cairo.

# Police probe 'online threat' to Rowling

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE
LONDON

Scottish police on Sunday said they were investigating an apparent "online threat" made to Harry Potter author J.K. Rowling in response to her tweet supporting Salman Rushdie following his stabbing.

"We have received a report of an online threat being made and officers are carrying out enquiries," said a Scotland Police spokeswoman.

The writer tweeted on Friday that she was "feeling very sick right now" as news broke of the attack on Rushdie. In response, a user tweeted "Don't worry you are next".

# More U.S. lawmakers arrive in Taiwan

## This unannounced trip comes days after Pelosi's trip sparked tensions with China

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE
TAIPEI

A U.S. congressional delegation arrived in Taiwan on Sunday, officials said, days after China held military drills around the island in retaliation for U.S. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi's visit.

Sunday's unannounced trip came after Ms. Pelosi infuriated Beijing by visiting Taiwan earlier this month, sparking unprecedented air and sea drills that raised the prospect of conflict.

The five-member delegation, led by Senator Ed Markey of Massachusetts, will meet with President Tsai Ing-wen and attend a banquet hosted by Foreign Minister Joseph Wu during the visit, according to Taiwan's Foreign Ministry.

**Friction point:** An official of Taiwan's Foreign Ministry with the U.S. delegation at Taipei Songshan Airport on Sunday. •REUTERS

They will discuss "U.S.-Taiwan relations, regional security, trade and investment, global supply chains, climate change, and other significant issues of mutual interest", the American Institute in Taiwan said in a statement.

Taiwan hailed the delegation's visit as another sign of warm ties between Taipei and Washington.

"The Ministry of Foreign Affairs expresses its sincere welcome (to the delegation)," the Ministry said in a statement on Sunday.

"As China is continuing to escalate tensions in the region, the U.S. Congress has again organised a heavyweight delegation to visit Taiwan, showing a friendship that is not afraid of China's threats and intimidation, and highlighting the U.S.' strong support towards Taiwan."

The other members of the delegation are Democratic members John Garamendi and Alan Lowenthal of California, Don Beyer of Virginia and Republic representative Aumua Amata Coleman Radewagen from American Samoa, according to the institute.

# Not holding war games with Pak.: Sri Lanka Navy

## Conducting a 'passage drill' with warship

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
COLOMBO

The Sri Lankan Navy on Sunday rejected as "fallacious" reports that it will hold war games with a Pakistani warship docked at the Colombo port, but confirmed that it will hold a "Passage Exercise" in the western seas with *PNS Taimur* as it leaves the nation.

The docking of Pakistan's newly-commissioned Chinese-built frigate at the Colombo port on Friday came amid Sri Lankan government allowing a high-tech Chinese research ship to visit the Hambantota Port from August 16 till 22 for "replenishment purposes," despite India's concern over the vessel's presence in its neighbourhood.

**Bangladesh denies entry**

Sri Lanka allowed *PNS Taimur* to make a port of call in Colombo while on its way to join the Pakistan Navy fleet after the Bangladesh government denied it permission to dock at Chattogram Port.

The Sri Lankan Navy on Sunday said the Pakistani ship is scheduled to conduct a Passage Exercise with SLNS Sindurala in seas off Colombo as she departs the island nation on Monday upon completion of her visit.

# Eight injured in Jerusalem bus shooting

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE
JERUSALEM

Israeli police said on Sunday they had arrested a suspect in a shooting attack on a bus in Jerusalem's Old City that wounded eight people, including a pregnant woman. Two were critically injured.

"The terrorist is in our hands," police spokesman Kan Eli Levy told public radio hours after the attack that took place not far from the Western Wall, the holiest prayer site for Jews.

A gunman started spraying bullets at the bus in the pre-dawn attack at the Tomb of David bus stop, recounted bus driver Daniel Kanievsky.


Independence Day Greetings to All Fellow Citizens

on Completion of 75 Years of Freedom

Ministry of Information and Broadcasting
Government of India

Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav

Coming 25 years of 'Amrit Kaal' to be 'Kartavya Kaal' of every citizen
Let us build together India of our freedom fighters' dreams

"On the occasion of the Independence Day, grateful Indians bow to their countless freedom fighters. As the champion proponents of freedom had joined hands for the cause of independence, in the same way, we have to unite for the development of the country."

- Narendra Modi

Watch live telecast of the Independence Day ceremony from the ramparts of the Red Fort on Doordarshan from 6:25 a.m. onwards

#HarGharTiranga

cbc 22201/13/0101/2223

PROGRESS THROUGH QUALITY EDUCATION
SASTRA
SHANMUGHA
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & RESEARCH ACADEMY

# SASTRA

ENGINEERING · MANAGEMENT · LAW · SCIENCES · HUMANITIES · EDUCATION

DEEMED TO BE UNIVERSITY

(U/S 3 of the UGC Act, 1956)

SASTRA DEEMED UNIVERSITY
41 24 19 44 49
nirf 2021
NAAC Re-Accredited
3.75 / 4.00
A++ Grade
CATEGORY 1 UNIVERSITY

75 Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav

THANJAVUR | KUMBAKONAM | CHENNAI www.sastra.edu

## Comprehensive Nation Building

- Nation & State building through various research, teaching, training & incubation centres in partnership with Government of India & Government of Tamil Nadu
- **Research** - Artificial Intelligence, Bio-Nano, Cyber-Physical, Digital Manufacturing, Energy & Environment, etc.
- **Teaching** - Engineering, Law, Management, Sciences, Education, Humanities, etc.
- **Training** - Model Production Centre, 3D Printing, Semiconductor Electronics, Life Sciences, Legal Services, Personality Development, etc.

## Vibrant Research & Wide Collaborations

- Twenty three Interdisciplinary Research & Innovation Centres
- Translational Research with Impactful Research Outcomes - Annual Journal Publications is over 1000
- 13 US & Indian Patents Granted and 41 Published
- h-Index - 98, i-10 Index - 2565
- Total Citations - 99,000
- Strong collaborations with Universities & Research organizations within & outside India

## Student Success - Placements & Higher Ed

- Annual placements for about 2,500 students in over 300 companies through campus recruitment
- SASTRA Graduates also get admitted to post-graduate & Ph.D. programmes in premier Institutions in India and abroad including IITs, IIMs, IISc., Harvard, MIT, Yale, UPenn, etc.
- Signifacant number of graduates are successful entrepreneurs - Freshworks, Ninjacart, VR Yuva, etc.

## Student Support & Scholarships

- Fair and transparent admission process without any capitation or donation
- Annual Merit Scholarships worth Rs.One Crore to students
- Free education to any student in the unfortunate event of losing parent while studying
- Monthly stipend & round trip airfare to students who visit as research interns to foreign universities under Semester Abroad Programme
- Need- based financial support & waiver to socio-economically disadvantaged
- Allotment of 20% seats to students from Thanjavur & Trichy

# SASTRA @ 38 GROWS WITH INDIA @ 75

## Entrepreneurship & Skill Development

- Three Thematic Incubation centres established by DST, DBT & MoFPI
- Incubation & Training to 78 incubatees of which 9 have graduated
- Seed capital from NIDHI-PRAYASEE, Startup India Seed Fund & TANSEED
- Free skill development programmes to rural and socio-economically challenged youth with monthly stipend leading to employment
- Free Training & Market Reach Programmes for Women SHGs

# SASTRA COMMUNITY OUTREACH ACTIVITIES

(A Sample list only)

- Established Srinivasa Ramanujan Centre at Kumbakonam, purchased house of Srinivasa Ramanujan & maintaining it as monument with museum & instituted SASTRA-Ramanujan Award which is one the world's most sought after awards.
- SASTRA is always at the forefront during natural calamities providing relief material to affected families & households - Floods in Chennai, Andhra, Kerala, Uttarakhand, J&K, Nepal, etc.
- Supporting TN State in all of its relief operations
- Massive field work and providing critical healthcare devices during COVID relief
- Medical camp & Free surgeries to 100 children every year
- Free education to victims of Uttarakhand floods & Kumbakonam fire tragedy
- Daily and Weekly annadhanam at Kumbakonam and regular annadhanam during major events like Vaitheeswaran Koil Padayatra, Pandharpur Padayatra, Nagore Kandoori Festival, etc.
- Free software and image analytics services developed by SASTRA for crowd control by Government of Tamil Nadu during various festivals
- Free STEM Labs in TN Schools @10 schools every year at a cost of Rs 5 lakh per lab per school. So far, donated to 30 schools with a plan to reach 100
- Free Virtual Reality Kits to augment STEM education in 75 Schools
- Free residential 6-day training programme to over 3,200 TN school teachers on use of ICT in teaching
- Pongal hampers containing rice, jaggery & dhal to around 2,000 households in nearby villages for the last 20 years
- Active NSS & NCC student units engaged in blood donation, volunteering & awareness camps
- Annual support for augmenting facilities in Hospitals, Primary Health Centres, Schools and other activities of public service & utility
- Free legal aid camps by SASTRA Law School which has conducted over 80 legal aid camps (highest in country)

THINK MERIT | THINK TRANSPARENCY | THINK SASTRA

STANLEY®
Makers Of Beautiful

lovestanley.com

EXCLUSIVELY AVAILABLE AT STANLEY STORES

- **BANGALORE**: • Sadashivnagar - 7406222222 • Hosur Rd. - 7406444444 • Indiranagar - 9972067005 • Mission Rd. - 6366263922
- **CHENNAI**: • Khader Nawaz Rd.: 7299100500
- **COIMBATORE**: • Avinashi Rd. - 9894345000
- **COCHIN**: • Kundanoor - 9447166664, 7511196868
- **DELHI**: • MG Rd. - 9810693968 • Kirti Nagar - 9313840882, 9971455014
- **HYDERABAD**: • Rd. #12, Banjara Hills - 7337334765 • Rd. #36, Jubilee Hills - 9550410001
- **KOLKATA**: • East Topsia Rd. - 9831913000, 9903978887
- **MUMBAI**: • Worli - 9820764236 • Lower Parel - 9967718556 • Malad - 7045770600
- **PUNE**: • Bund Garden Rd. - 9604000222, 8805027681

# Kane salvages a draw for Spurs against Chelsea

## Conte and Tuchel sent off after the full-time whistle for their second physical altercation of the match

EURO LEAGUES

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE
LONDON

Harry Kane snatched a 96th minute equaliser to salvage a 2-2 draw for Tottenham from a feisty London derby against Chelsea on Sunday.

Both managers Antonio Conte and Thomas Tuchel were sent-off after the full-time whistle for their second physical altercation of the match.

Chelsea looked set to get a new era at Stamford Bridge off to the best possible start as they twice led through Kalidou Koulibaly and Reece James.

Conte and Tuchel were both booked in the aftermath of Pierre-Emile Hojbjerg's first equaliser.

Tempers then flared again during a handshake after Kane nodded in with virtually the last action of the game.

Tottenham has still only won once at Stamford Bridge in 32 years in the league, but Conte will be delighted to escape with a share of the spoils against his former club.

Earlier, Nottingham Forest celebrated its first home game in the Premier League for 23 years by beating West Ham 1-0.

The two-time European champion has made 14 new signings in a bid to maintain its top-flight status and two of those making their home debuts were the stars as Taiwo Awoniyi scored the only goal and Dean Henderson saved Declan Rice's penalty.

### Lucky

Forest had fortune on its side as the Hammers also had a first-half goal controversially ruled out and hit the underside of the crossbar twice after the break through Pablo Fornals and Said Benrahma.

But that mattered little to a jubilant 30,000 crowd at the City Ground, who revelled in their first three points back in the big time.

Robert Lewandowski endured a frustrating debut for Barcelona on Saturday when Rayo Vallecano held on for a 0-0 draw at Camp Nou in their Spanish league opener.

Lewandowski and his new teammates were kept well in check by Rayo, which also proved dangerous on the break and was only stopped from scoring by the goalkeeping of Marc-Andre ter Stegen.

**The results:**

**Premier League:** Chelsea 2 (Koulibaly 19, James 77) drew with Tottenham 2 (Hojbjerg 68, Kane 90+6); Nottingham Forest 1 (Awoniyi 45+2) bt West Ham 0.

**La Liga: On Saturday:** Celta Vigo 2 (Aspas 45+2, Pacienca 63) drew with Espanyol 2 (Exposito 72, Joselu 90+7-pen); Real Valladolid 0 lost to Villarreal 3 (Jackson 49, Baena 81, 90); Barcelona 0 drew with Rayo Vallecano 0.

**Bumdesliga:** Mainz 0 drew with Union Berlin 0; Bayern Munich 2 (Musiala 33, Mueller 43) bt Wolfsburg 0.

**Serie A: On Saturday:** AC Milan 4 (Hernandez 12-pen, Rebic 15, 68, Diaz 46) bt Udinese 2 (Becao 2, Masina 45+4); Sampdoria 0 lost to Atalanta 2 (Toloi 26, Lookman 90+4).

**Down to the wire:** Kane nodded in with virtually the last action of the game. • AFP

LIVE TELECAST

**KSCA Maharaja T20:** Star Sports 2 (SD & HD) & FanCode, 3 p.m. & 7 p.m.
**Grand Prix Badminton League:** Eurosport (SD & HD), 3 p.m.
**Ultimate Kho-Kho league:** Sony Ten 3 (SD & HD) & Sony LIV, 7.30 p.m. & 8.45 p.m.

## Durand Cup on Sports 18, Voot

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT
KOLKATA

The 131st edition of the Durand Cup football tournament will be telecast on Sports 18 Network and streamed live on Voot platform.

All the 47 matches of the tournament, which will be held in Kolkata, Guwahati and Imphal from August 16 to Sept. 18, will be telecast across Sports18 1 SD and HD and Sports 18 Khel as well as streamed on the OTT platform Voot, said a statement.

For commentary, former India international Henry Menezes and India women's goalkeeper Aditi Chauhan have been roped in as experts, along with former footballers Karan Sawhney and Darren Caldeira.

The ticket are priced at ₹50, ₹100 and ₹250 in Guwahati, ₹50, ₹100 and ₹300 in Imphal and ₹50, ₹100 and ₹200 (only for Salt Lake Stadium).

## Sania loses doubles semifinals

SPORTS BUREAU

Sania Mirza's fine run in partnership with Madison Keys was halted in the doubles semifinals by Coco Gauff and Jessica Pegula 7-5, 7-5 in the $2,527,250 WTA tennis tournament in Toronto. The Indo-American pair won 350 WTA points and $39,680.

**The results: $2,527,250 WTA, Toronto, Canada: Semifinals:** Coco Gauff & Jessica Pegula (US) bt Madison Keys (USA) & Sania Mirza 7-5, 7-5.

*New challenge*

**Getting ready:** Members of Team India have arrived in Harare for an ODI series against Zimbabwe. The city will host all the three matches scheduled on Aug. 18, 20 and 22. • TWITTER/BCCI

# IOA awaits Delhi High Court verdict

## 'Expect elections to be held in the next three or four months'

KAMESH SRINIVASAN
NEW DELHI

The Indian Olympic Association (IOA) awaits the Delhi High Court verdict on Aug. 16 to spell out a road map for its election.

The acting president of the IOA, Anil Khanna pointed out that the court had not given permission on IOA's request to hold the adjourned Annual General Meeting and other related meetings.

The IOA has also sought a meeting with the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to make matters clear. The IOA president, along with secretary-general Rajeev Mehta and treasurer Anandeshwar Pandey are scheduled to visit the IOC Headquarters in Lausanne, for speeding up the matter, on Sept. 1 and 2.

IOA acting president Anil Khanna. • FILE PHOTO

"We have a right to be heard. We expect the elections to be held in the next three or four months," said Khanna.

"The honourable courts had to step in as there were major differences internally within the IOA regarding electoral rolls and non-compliance of IOA Constitution, as already approved by IOC and the law of the land. The electoral college has to be clean. IOA will ensure this before elections are held as per timelines to be reached in consultation with the IOC and OCA," stated Khanna.

During the Commonwealth Games in Birmingham, the IOA officials did interact with the IOC and Olympic Council of Asia (OCA) officials in an attempt to provide clarity to the situation.

Thus, the IOA expects to have a robust Constitution soon, in compliance with the Sports Code as well the law of the land, and "duly approved by the IOC".

The IOA election will also be conducted under the supervision of observers from IOC and OCA, among others.

# Will Rahul allow Gill to continue as opener?

## The young batter is likely to play at three with the skipper opening with Dhawan

INDIA IN ZIM

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
NEW DELHI

The ODI series against Zimbabwe will be K.L. Rahul's dress rehearsal before the Asia Cup and hence he is all set to replace Shubman Gill at the top-of the order alongside Shikhar Dhawan.

With T20 World Cup being paramount and Gill not exactly in the scheme of things as far as shortest format is concerned, he might be handed a number three slot in order to ensure that his captain gets enough game-time before the continental championship in the UAE, starting on August 27.

This provided all three are fit and available for all the games in the series.

While there will be no Rahul Dravid heading the team of support staff for the short three-match series, starting on August 18 in Harare, NCA head V.V.S. Laxman is almost certain to follow the blueprint set by the head coach.

Rahul's comeback also creates problems for young Gill, who has had a stellar 50-over series in the West Indies, where he scored 64, 43 and 98 not out in three games to win the Player of the Series award.

**Long-awaited return:** One has to wait and watch if skipper Rahul opens the batting with Dhawan on his comeback • FILE

So will Rahul allow Gill to continue his good form at the top of the order or perch himself out there at the onset with one eye on the Asia Cup?

"I think Shubman is being groomed in the right way by the Indian team management. While he has done exceedingly well in the Caribbean ODIs, what I can gauge from this team's philosophy is prepare players for multiple slots. Hence I feel for this particular series, Shubman might have to come in at No. 3," former national selector and Test opener Devang Gandhi gave his viewpoint.

In the 50-over set-up since the home series against England in 2021, Rahul was being seen as a middle-order anchor rather than an opener but once he was the skipper in the ODI series in South Africa, he had promoted himself as an opener.

# Pujara smashes career-best List-A score

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
HOVE

India's Test specialist Cheteshwar Pujara smashed his way to a career-best List A score of 174, notching up his second hundred in a span of 48 hours as Sussex amassed a mammoth 378 for six against Surrey in the Royal London Cup One Day Championship on Sunday.

On Friday, Pujara had caned the Warwickshire attack en route his 79-ball 107, albeit in a losing cause.

On Sunday, Sussex batted first on a small county ground at Hove, and was 9 for two inside first four overs when Tom Clark (104 off 106 balls) and Pujara joined forces to add 205 runs for the third wicket.

Pujara, who has a near 55 average in List A cricket, scored his 13th hundred in the 50-over format and, in all, faced 131 balls from which he hit 20 fours and five sixes.

By the time he was dismissed in the 48th over, Pujara had nearly scored half of his team's runs (350) at that time.

Pujara... in fine form. • FILE PHOTO

Pujara hit a six each off pacers Matt Dunn, Conor McKerr and Ryan Patel. Spinners Amar Virdi and Yousef Majid were also tonked for a maximum each.

At the Grace Road ground in Leicester, left-arm spinner Krunal Pandya emerged as the most successful bowler for Warwickshire with figures of three for 69 against Leicestershire in another List A game.

Krunal's victims were Louis Kimber (78), South African international Wiaan Mulder (68) and Aaron Lilley (33).

Leicestershire scored 338 for eight in 50 overs.

Veteran Indian Test pacer Umesh Yadav continued his good showing for Middlesex with figures of two for 58 from 10 overs with wickets of Somerset openers Andrew Umeed (10) and skipper James Rew (114).

Umesh currently has 13 wickets from four games with a five-for and four-for under his belt. Somerset scored 335 for six in 50 overs.

Out of favour India pacer Navdeep Saini had figures of none for 43 for Kent against Northamptonshire, which was bowled out for 210.

While Saini went wicketless, this was the least number of runs that he has conceded in Royal London Cup so far, having gone for above 61, 71 and 68 runs in his previous three appearances.

# Mbappe or Neymar? Galtier won't name primary penalty taker

ASSOCIATED PRESS
PARIS

Paris Saint-Germain coach Christophe Galtier played down questions of who is the club's main penalty taker this season after Kylian Mbappe missed from the spot and Neymar scored with the next spot kick in a league game.

Mbappe saw his effort saved and Neymar coolly converted his in the league leader's 5-2 win against Montpellieron Saturday night. It led to questions whether there is a No. 1 penalty taker at the club.

"For this match, the order was chosen thus," Galtier said after the game.

"Kylian shot first, so it was logical that Neymar went next. We'll see in the future." While there was no animosity between the two players on the field, after the game Neymar liked a Tweet that said he should not be a No. 2 penalty taker at any club.

Mbappe was named the French league's player of the year last season for the third time. The France star netted 39 goals overall and led the league scoring charts with 28, including four penalties from four attempts. Neymar scored three penalties out of four in his total of 13 goals during another injury-hit campaign.

The penalty talk after Saturday's game evoked memories of a spat between Neymar and former striker Edinson Cavani during the 2017-18 season.

The two argued over who should take a penalty during a league game – an incident that came to be known in French media as "Penalty-gate." Later that same season, Neymar refused to let Cavani take a late penalty, even though PSG was already 7-0 up in the game and Cavani needed one goal to become PSG's outright all-time leading scorer.

Cavani went on to become PSG's best scorer with 200 goals before leaving the club.

Mbappe has 172 career goals for PSG and could catch Cavani this season, especially if he takes penalties.

**Intriguing:** PSG coach Galtier played down the obvious question involving Neymar and Mbappe. • AFP

# Aditi makes it to the final round

GOLF

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
GALGORM (N. IRELAND)

Aditi Ashok was the lone Indian to get past the second cut at the ISPS Handa World Invitational here.

The 24-year-old from Bengaluru closed birdie-birdie after starting from the 10th to card 71 which helped her get past another cut applied after 54 holes. She was Tied-34th.

There have been two cuts, the first after 36 holes, at which point Tvesa Malik exited, while after 54 holes Diksha Dagar (73-72-76) missed the second cut as only Top-35 and ties moved ahead for the final round.

Amanda Doherty carded a third round of 72 (-1) to maintain a one-shot lead. The LPGA Tour rookie got off to a slower start at Galgorm with a bogey on the third followed by a birdie on the fourth, before a double bogey on the fifth.

However, the 24-year-old soon got into her groove rolling in three birdies around the turn on holes eight, 10 and 12.

England's Georgia Hall and Chinese Taipei's Peiyun Chien sit one shot behind the leader on 11-under-par after 54 holes.

## Winning start by Gujarat Giants

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
PUNE

Gujarat Giants beat Mumbai Khiladis 69-44 in the opening game of the inaugural edition of Ultimate Kho-Kho which began on Sunday.

Mumbai started with the PowerPlay, activating two wazirs – Durvesh Salunke and Avik Singha – when the batch comprising Vinayak Pokarde, Akshay Bhangare and Mareppa took the field.

However, within less than two minutes, they successfully managed to out all three of them.

Khiladis dominated with a 22-2 lead and kept up the pressure till the end.

# Strikers register their first points

## Break a six-game losing streak against Warriors; United beat Mystics

MAHARAJA TROPHY

CORRESPONDENT
MYSURU

Shivamogga Strikers helped by some good bowling in the middle and death overs by skipper K. Gowtham (2/22), Utham Aiyappa (2/35) and M.B. Darshan (2/44), combined with a valuable knock by B.R. Sharath (53), posted their first win in six games over Mysore Warriors by 13-runs on the eighth day of the Maharaja Cup KSCA T20 tournament played here on Sunday.

Mysore Warriors set a target of 175 runs, got off to a bad start losing skipper Karun Nair (0), was gobbled up by the wicket-keeper off medium-pacer Aiyappa (1-1-0.2 overs).

Nihal Ullal (13), and G.S.Chiranjeevi (0) departed quickly and the Warriors were struggling at 32 for three in 4.3 overs.

Good hand: B.R. Sharath scored a valuable 53 for Shivamogga Strikers. • M.A. SRIRAM

**Regular wickets**

Wickets fell at regular intervals with Shreyas Gopal (7) and Shubhang Hegde (13), and C.Shivraj (19), departed soon and the side was reduced to 115 for six in 15.4 overs.

Left-hander Pavan Deshpande top-scored with 64 (47b, 6x4, 2x6). Mysore ended up scoring 161 for eight in 20 overs.

Put into bat, Shivamogga Strikers posted a decent total of 174/8 in 20 overs. Shivamogga got off to a decent star with openers Rohan Kadam (18,15b, 3x4) and B.R.Sharath (53, 35b, 6x4, 2x6) adding 56 runs for the opening wicket in 5.1 overs.

The second wicket fell at 62 when Vinay Sagar (1) departed off Shubhang Hegde.

B.R. Sharath batted freely executing some neat cover drives and lofted strokes to add 33-runs in 28-balls with K.V.Siddarth (36, 30b, 2x4), before he fell to the guile of leg-spinner Shreyas Gopal.

Avinash (25,17b, 3x4,1x6) used the long handle well to boost the total to 174/8 in 20 overs.

Medium-pacer Vidyadhar Patil impressed with figures of 3/39 and was supported well by left-arm spinner Shubhang Hegde (2/19) and medium-pacer Aditya Goel (2/38).

**The scores:**

Shivamogga Strikesrs: 174/8 in 20 overs (B.R. Sharath 53, K.V. Siddarth 36, D. Avinash 25, Vidyadhar Patil 3/39, Shubhang Hegde 2/19, Aditya Goel 2/28) bt Mysore Warriors 161/8 in 20 overs (Pavan Deshpande 64, K. Gowtham 2/22, Utham Aiyappa 2/35, M.B. Darshan 2/44).

Gulbarga Mystics 192/6 in 20 overs (Manish Pandey 86 n.o, M.S. Bhandage 29, K.L.Shrijith 36, Vyshak Vijaykumar 3/28, H.S.Sharath 2/44) lost to Mangalore United 195/7 in 19.4 overs (Abhinav Manohar 55 n.o, Aneeshwar Gautham 30, S.S.Sujay 29, Macneel H N 24, Shreesha S Achar 3/26,C.A.Karthik 2/33).

# Ranjeet clinches bronze medal

## Kirrtane emerges third in mixed doubles

ITF SENIORS

SPORTS BUREAU

Former national champion V.M. Ranjeet had a memorable outing in the ITF Seniors World Championship, winning the singles bronze medal, in the over-35 section, in Lisbon, Portugal.

In a cracker of a semifinal, Ranjeet was beaten by the top seed, eventual gold medallist and former World No. 62 in the professional circuit, Fred Gil, 4-6, 6-3, 7-6(2).

"Got a standing ovation after the semifinals against Fred Gil. It was a high quality match and lasted more than three and a half hour," said Ranjeet, who had negotiated a strong field in a draw of 64.

Ranjeet said that he would go to Spain and compete in two more tournaments before returning home.

India players won more medals in doubles and mixed doubles in the World Championship.

Nitten Kirrtane won the mixed doubles bronze in the over-45 section with Stefanie Kolar of Germany.

The duo won two matches after a bye before being beaten 6-4, 6-0 in the semifinals by Caroline De Vries and Marcus Hilpert of the Netherlands.

Neeraj Anand and Narendra Singh Choudhary won the men's over-45 doubles bronze, by winning three rounds before being beaten 6-1, 6-1 by Andrew Lux and Matthias Schramm of Germany in the semifinals.

Radhika Tulpule Kanitkar won the women's doubles bronze medal in the over-40 event with Virginie Villani of Canada.

Creditable: V.M. Ranjeet lost to the top seed, and eventual gold medallist, Fred Gil in the semifinal. • SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT

# Indian hockey players share heartfelt messages

ANI
NEW DELHI

A few members of the Indian men's and women's hockey teams shared heartfelt messages on the eve of the Independe Day. "I would like to wish all the citizens of our country a very Happy Independence Day. This one is extra special for us as it's our 75th Independence Day. We have grown tremendously as a nation, especially in the field of sports," said men's team captain Manpreet Singh.

Defender Harmanpreet Singh said: "It's been absolutely fantastic to see our growth as a nation in the last few years and I am eager to see how far we can go in the future. The determination and persistence we have shown in every field are simply amazing."

The men's team goalkeeper P.R. Sreejesh said: "There's no greater pride than playing for your country and therefore Independence Day is always special to me. It's been truly magnificent to be a small part of this journey. I wish everyone happiness and light this Independence Day."

The women's skipper Savita Punia also wished the fellow citizens.

# Bengaluru FC signs Sandesh Jhingan

Sandesh Jhingan. • K. MURALI KUMAR

ASHWIN ACHAL
BENGALURU

Indian Super League (ISL) side Bengaluru FC (BFC) signed India international defender Sandesh Jhingan on a one-year deal, BFC announced here.

The 29-year-old Jhingan, who most recently turned out for ATK Mohun Bagan, was unveiled for BFC's open training session at Bangalore Football Stadium on Sunday.

Jhingan had turned out for BFC in a loan spell in the 2016-17 season.

"The club has built a strong team this season and has never been short on ambition. They know how to win trophies.

" In addition to some quality new signings, players like (Sunil) Chhetri bhai, Gurpreet (Sandhu) and Udanta (Singh) have been here for a while now and we're looking good as a unit," Jhingan said.

BFC, under new manager Simon Grayson, commences its 2022-23 campaign with a Group 'A' clash against Jamshedpur FC in the Durand Cup on Tuesday.

# Lifes Song should repeat in main event

HYDERABAD: The four-year-old filly Lifes Song, who won well in her last start, should repeat in the Independence Cup, the chief event of Monday's (Aug. 15) races here.

1 DONCASTER PLATE (1,400m), (Terms) Maiden, 3-y-o only (Cat. ID – 2.10 p.m.: 1. City Cruise (9) Nakhat Singh 56, 2. Milton Keynes (8) B. Nikhil 56, 3. My Way Or Highway (10) Mohit Singh 56, 4. Resurgence (1) Surya Prakash 56, 5. Shubhrak (3) Mukesh Kumar 56, 6. Wind Sprite (7) Kuldeep Singh 56, 7. Lights On (5) Aneel 54.5, 8. This Is Me (6) P. Vikram 54.5, 9. Tiger Mountain (4) A.A. Vikrant 54.5 and 10. Yaletown (2) Akshay Kumar 54.5.
1. YALETOWN,
2. RESURGENCE,
3. WIND SPRITE

2 KAMAREDDY PLATE (1,600m), 4-y-o & upward, rated 20 to 45 (Cat. III) – 2.45: 1. Isra (1) Aneel 60, 2. Ice Berry (6) R.S. Jodha 59.5, 3. Mireya (2) D.S. Deora 59, 4. Muaser (3) Ajeeth Kumar 55.5, 5. Gurbaaz (5) Kuldeep Singh 53.5, 6. Ashwa Migsun (4) B.R. Kumar 52.5 and 7. Starwalt (7) Akshay Kumar 52.
1. ICE BERRY,
2. STARWALT,
3. MIREYA

3 ANANTHAGIRI HILLS PLATE (1,200m), rated 20 to 45 (Cat. III) – 3.15: 1. Siyavash (4) Abhay Singh 60.5, 2. Salisbury (1) Afroz Khan 57, 3. Indian Temple (10) Mohit Singh 56, 4. Quality Warrior (3) Akshay Kumar 55, 5. Black Onyx (5) D.S. Deora 54.5, 6. Blazing Jupiter (8) Kuldeep Singh 52.5, 7. New Hustle (2) B. Nikhil 51, 8. Ashwa Pushkin (6) Santosh Raj 50.5, 9. Smolensk (7) P. Sai Kumar 50 and 10. Space Time (9) P. Gaddam 50.
1. BLACK ONYX,
2. QUALITY WARRIOR,
3. SALISBURY

4 DEVARAKONDA PLATE (1,600m), rated 40 to 65 (Cat. II) – 3.45: 1. Lamha (5) Akshay Kumar 60, 2. Aerial Combat (6) Khurshad Alam 54.5, 3. Galwan (1) Ajeeth Kumar 54.5, 4. Char Ek Char (7) Ishwar Singh 53.5, 5. Miss Marvellous (4) Afroz Khan 53.5, 6. Pacific Command (2) Rafique Sk. 53.5 and 7. Beauty Flame (3) B. Nikhil 53.
1. GALWAN,
2. LAMHA,
3. MISS MARVELLOUS

5 INDEPENDENCE CUP (1,200m), rated 40 to 65 (Cat. II) – 4.15: 1. Blue Origin (7) Mukesh Kumar 60, 2. Kingston (1) Kuldeep Singh 59.5, 3. Amyra (3) Afroz Khan 58, 4. Lifes Song (10) Akshay Kumar 56.5, 5. Palomar (9) Ajeeth Kumar 56.5, 6. General Atlantic (2) B. Nikhil 53.5, 7. Angelita (5) B.R. Kumar 52.5, 8. Morior Invictus (8) Ishwar Singh 52.5, 9. Gusty Note (6) P. Gaddam 51.5 and 10. Sandown Park (4) Md. Ismail 51.5.
1. LIFES SONG,
2. BLUE ORIGIN,
3. KINGSTON

6 THREE WISHES PLATE (1,100m), rated up to 25 (Cat. III) – 4.45: 1. Battle Ready (2) Deepak Singh 60, 2. Golden Forza (3) Kuldeep Singh 60, 3. Inside Story (5) R.S. Jodha 60, 4. N R I Secret (10) Santosh Raj 59.5, 5. Lifetime (9) Surya Prakash 59, 6. Charmer (1) Nakhat Singh 58.5, 7. Choice Of Diamond (6) Aneel 58.5, 8. Healthandhappiness (8) D.S. Deora 56.5, 9. Open Affair (7) Mohit Singh 56.5 and 10. Good Tidings (4) Akshay Kumar 54.5.
1. GOOD TIDINGS,
2. GOLDEN FORZA,
3. BATTLE READY

Day's Best: LIFES SONG
Jackpot: 2, 3, 4, 5 & 6; Mini Jackpot: 3, 4, 5 & 6.
Treble (i): 1, 2 & 3; (ii): 4, 5 & 6.
Tanala: All races.

KARNATAKA ROUND-UP

**Siva and Ridhima corner glory**

BENGALURU: S. Siva and Ridhima Veerendra Kumar were adjudged the men's and women's individual champions respectively as the Karnataka State Senior Aquatic Championship drew to a close at the Padukone Dravid Centre for Sports Excellence here on Sunday. The duo capped their performances on the final day by claiming their respective 50m backstroke races. Siva took gold in a time of 27.19s, while Ridhima came home in 30.48s.

Both Siva and Ridhima finished the championship with two new meet records to their names.

**Select results (winners all):**
**Men: 4x100m medley:** BAC-A, 3:59.77s (NMR; OR: BSRC, 4:00.50, 2019); **Women: 4x100m medley:** Dolphin Aquatics, 4:33.78 (NMR; OR: BAC, 4:36.78, 2019).
**Overall championship:** Basavanagudi Aquatic Centre (BAC) (468 points).
**Individual championship:**
**Men:** S. Siva (BAC, 40 pts);
**Women:** Ridhima Veerendra Kumar (BAC, 43 pts).

On top: Ridhima and Siva, individual champions at the State Senior aquatic championship. • SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT

**Tuskers overcome Tigers**

Bandipur Tuskers beat Kodagu Tigers 6-3 in the Grand Prix Badminton League at the KBA courts on Sunday.

**The results:**

Bandipur Tuskers bt Kodagu Tigers 6-3 (Alifiya Riyas lost to Rujula Ramu (Trump) 9-15, 11-15; Abhishek Yeligar & V. Vaibhav (Trump) bt Adarsh Kumar & H.R. Vasantha Kumar 15-13, 11-15, 15-8; Abhishek Yeligar bt Vishesh Sharma 15-6, 15-7; Kishal Ganapathy & Apeksha Nayak lost to Saneeth Dayanand & Ramya Venkatesh 10-15, 12-15; Daniel Farid & Vaibhav & Ganesh Vittalji bt Saneeth & Vasantha Kumar & Adarsh 21-16.

**On Saturday:** KGF Wolves bt Malnad Falcons 6-3 (Rashmi Ganesh lost to Drithi Yateesh (Trump match) 12-15, 9-15; Prakash Raj & V. Suhas (Trump match) bt Aravind Kongara & Pruthvi K.Roy 15-11, 15-13; Rudra Shahi lost to Mithun Manjunath 10-15, 6-15; Hemanth M. Gowda & Gloria Vinayakumar bt Shamanth Rao Kidiyoor & Drithi 14-15, 15-13, 15-11; Hemanth & Prakash Raj & V. Suhas bt Pruthvi & Mithun Manjunath & Samanth 21-19).

**Ayush, Neeti triumph**

K. Ayush and Neeti Agarwal emerged the under-15 boys' and girls' singles champions respectively at the Karnataka State-ranking table tennis tournament, organised by Bellary District Table Tennis Association. Ayush defeated B.R. Gaurav 11-9, 12-10, 2-11, 11-13, 11-6, 11-6, while Neeti beat Saanvi Vishal Mandekar 11-9, 11-7, 11-8, 11-8.

**Mandara on song**

Mandara top-scored with 28 points as DYES Mandya beat DYES Mysore 57-40 to enter the girls' final of the State Youth basketball championship on Sunday. In the summit clash, Mandya will take on Mounts Club, which defeated S. Blues 60-54.

**The results (semifinal league):**

**Boys:** PPC 47 (Milind 26, Hriday 15) bt Vivek's SC 33 (Aarush 13); VNSC 62 (Daksh 19, Varun 18, Ayush 10) bt Beagles BC 60 (Chirag 22, Jitesh 12).

**Girls:** DYES Mandya 57 (Mandara 28, Deepushree 12) bt DYES Mysore 40 (Yashaswini 32); Mounts Club 60 (Nakshatra 17, Nilaya 14) bt S. Blues 54 (Nidhi 27).

**Anvith, Aditya win titles**

Anvith P. Bhat (5 points) and Aditya Trehan (5) won the under-10 and under-16 titles respectively at the Independence Challenge chess tournament, conducted by Champions Chess Academy on Sunday.

**Bengaluru Blues-A thrashes KV NAL**

Bengaluru Blues-A thrashed KV NAL 19-0 in the DS Murthy & Radha Murthy Memorial hockey tournament, on Sunday.

**The results:**

Bengaluru Blues-A bt KV NAL 19-0; Samanth Sports Academy bt Bengaluru Blues-B 7-3; Rainbow bt East India 5-3; Aristocrat bt Naveen-A 15-0; DPS East bt Bangalore United-B 9-5; East India bt Team Wildboar 4-2.

Bengaluru Blues-A bt Naveen 8-2; DPS East bt Rainbow 6-5; Aristocrat bt Coorg Direwolves-A 4-3; Team Wildboar bt Bangalore United 8-4; Bengaluru Blues-A bt Flying 8-5.

# Don't pay attention to ban threat: Chhetri

## 'All other verticals in the AIFF are trying to fix things'

FOOTBALL

ASHWIN ACHAL
BENGALURU

India and Bengaluru FC footballer Sunil Chhetri advised players to "not pay much attention" to FIFA's threat to suspend the All India Football Federation.

"I've spoken to the boys about this – do not pay much attention to this (ban threat), because it is out of your control.

"People who are involved (in this discussion) are doing their best to emerge with the best result possible.

"As far as players are concerned, do your work properly.

"Improve yourself as a player, and whenever you get the opportunity to play for your country or club, put your best foot forward.

" All other verticals in the AIFF are trying to fix things to make sure that they come out with flying colours," Chhetri said in a virtual media interaction on Sunday.

Keep focusing: Chhetri, seen with BFC head coach Grayson, centre, and Roy Krishna, wants players to put their best foot forward. • K. MURALI KUMAR

# Olivier setback for South Africa

AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE
LONDON

South Africa suffered a setback just days before its Test series against England when fast bowler Duanne Olivier was ruled out of the entire campaign with a hip injury.

The 30-year-old sustained the injury during this week's four-day tour match against the second-string England Lions in Canterbury and Olivier, a veteran of 15 Tests, is now returning home.

"Duanne Olivier presented with significant discomfort involving his right hip flexor muscle at the close of play on day three of the four-day tour match," said the team doctor Hashendra Ramjee in a Cricket South Africa (CSA) statement on Sunday.

"After clinical assessment, he was referred for an MRI scan which revealed a grade two tear involving the right pectineus muscle.

South Africa has not named a replacement for Olivier, with fellow quicks Kagiso Rabada, Lungi Ngidi and Anrich Nortje already in the squad.

The first Test at Lord's is scheduled to start on Wednesday.

# Easy for ASC & Center FC

FOOTBALL

SPORTS REPORTER
BENGALURU

BENGALURU: ASC & Center FC beat Bangalore Eagles FC 3-1 in the C. Puttaiah Memorial football tournament on Sunday.

**The results:**

MEG & Center FC 1 (Shaik Muzeeb 17) drew with Bangalore Dream United FC 1 (Palzor Bhatia 40).

ASC & Center FC 3 (Laish Ram Premkumar Singh 40, Tony Huidrom 45+1, Melem Tomthin Metei 66) bt Bangalore Eagles FC 1 (Immanuel Derricks 70).

# Netherlands names squad for Pakistan ODI series

ANI
AMSTERDAM

Netherlands on Sunday announced a 15-member squad for the upcoming three-match ODI series against Pakistan at home.

The series forms part of the ICC ODI Super League and the teams will have the opportunity to gain automatic qualification for the 2023 ICC Men's Cricket World Cup.

**The squad:**

Scott Edwards (capt.), Musa Ahmad, Shariz Ahmad, Wesley Barresi, Logan van Beek, Tom Cooper, Aryan Dutt, Arnav Jain, Viv Kingma, Ryan Klein, Bas de Leede, Teja Nidamanuru, Tim Pringle, Max O'Dowd and Vikram Singh.

APPOINTMENT

VIGNAN'S
(Deemed to be UNIVERSITY)
NAAC A+ NIRF 95
Vadlamudi, Guntur-522 213.
Tel : 0863-2344700

WALK-IN-INTERVIEW FOR FACULTY POSITIONS

Professors/Assoc.Professors/Asst.Professors
in Computer Science & Engineering (CSE) and Information Technology (IT)

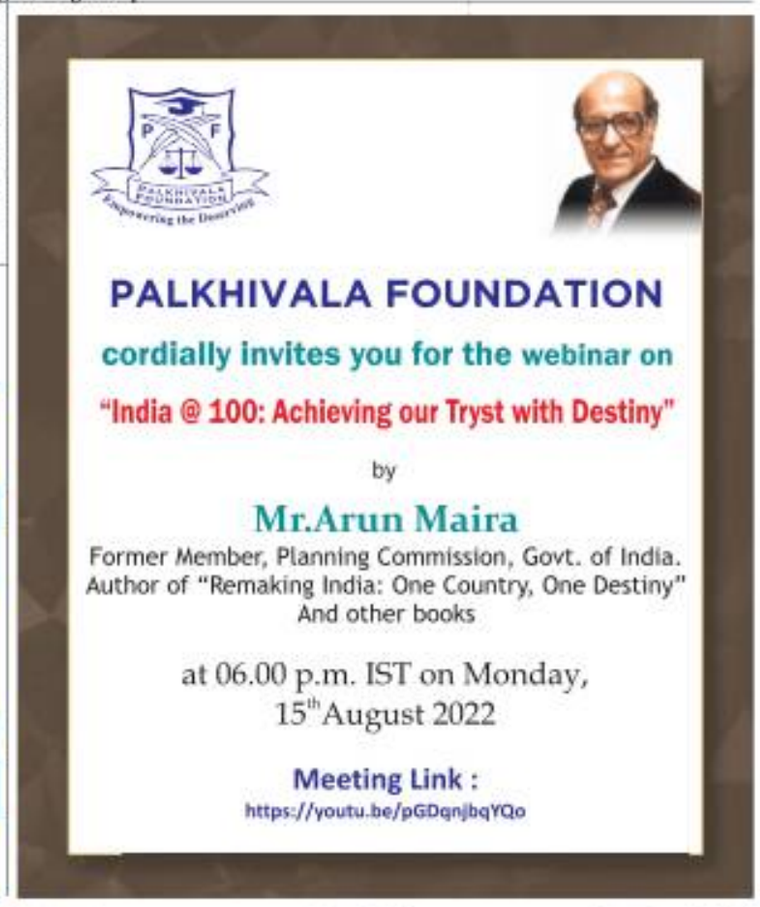
Eligibility Criteria • Ph.D. in relevant discipline. • Candidates who have submitted their Ph.D. thesis and awaiting Viva may also attend. • M.Tech. with 5 years of experience in Teaching/Industry may also attend.

Salary • As per AICTE norms • Salary will not be a constraint for deserving candidates from Premier Institutions like IITs/NITs/IIITs.

Date & Time of Interview: 20.08.2022 (Saturday) & 21.08.2022 (Sunday) from 09.00 AM to 06.00 PM
Venue: Ramada Hotel, Gandhi Irwin Rd, Ansari Estate, Egmore, Chennai, Tamil Nadu - 600008.

Contact - Job Details : Assistant Registrar - 8500444991
Venue Details : Mr. Pavan Kumar +91-9291244551

Note: • The candidates are requested to attend the interview along with the copies of their certificates • Candidates with Ph.D. in ECE & Mathematics who can teach Computer Science subjects for B.Tech. programme may also attend. • Candidates may forward their CV to recruitment@vignan.ac.in.



THE HINDU
# EDUCATION PLUS
GET THE EDGE
www.thehindu.com/education
www.facebook.com/thehinduedge
www.twitter.com/thehinduedge

## SAVE THE DATE

### ■ PG Cert International Business Law

The University of Essex Online invites applications for its PG Cert International Business Law with an indicative study duration of eight months.
ELIGIBILITY: For the academic entry route, an undergraduate degree from an approved institution, equivalent to a UK Honours degree, or relevant professional qualification. For the work experience entry route, applicants must have at least five years of senior-level work experience. If English is not applicants' first language, their English ability should be equivalent to an IELTS score of 6.5. Those who don't hold an IELTS or equivalent qualification will need to pass the university's free online English test
DEADLINE: September 1
https://bit.ly/3QmfWKY

### ■ M.Sc. Advanced Computer Science with Data Science

The University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, invites applications for its M.Sc. Advanced Computer Science with Data Science course starting in January 2023.
ELIGIBILITY: Minimum second-class honours degree or international equivalent in Computer Science or another numerate discipline (Maths, Physics, Engineering, for instance). Some programming or database experience is normally required.
https://bit.ly/3SLZsgX

### ■ Applications open at University of Sheffield

The University of Sheffield, the U.K., invites applications for a **four-year B.Sc. Computer Science (Artificial Intelligence) with an Industrial Placement Year course** starting in September 2023.
ELIGIBILITY: 85 % in Class 12 including Maths. IELTS grade of 6.5 with a minimum of 6.0 in each component; or an alternative acceptable English language qualification.
https://bit.ly/3QHsFI5
The university is also introducing a three-year, full-time **B.A. Global Sustainable Development** from September 2023.
ELIGIBILITY: 80 % in Class 12, ELTS grade of 6.5, with a minimum of 6.0 in each component; or an alternative acceptable English language qualification.
https://bit.ly/3JPzBQZ

### ■ HERITAGE fellowships launched

InterGlobe Foundation recently launched InterGlobe HERITAGE Fellowships to encourage researchers, journalists, architects, and others to bring previously undocumented aspects of Indian culture to light and raise awareness of our heritage.
Four applicants will be selected and the fellowship will last for three months from November 1, 2022.
DEADLINE: August 31.
https://bit.ly/3bHQm41

### ■ M.Sc. in Electro-Optical Engineering

Ben-Gurion University of the Negev (BGU), Israel, has opened admissions for the two-year MSc. in Electro-Optical Engineering for Fall 2022.
ELIGIBILITY: A B.Sc. in related Science and Engineering fields (Electrical Engineering, Material Engineering, for instance), with minimum GPA of 80/100; TOEFL score of 85/120 or equivalent in an internationally-recognised English proficiency exam.
GRE is recommended but not required. Additionally, prior to applying the applicant should contact a potential advisor among the EOPE faculty.
https://bit.ly/3p6peyF

Karnataka Education Trust (R)
KARNATAKA COLLEGE
GROUP OF INSTITUTIONS
www.karnatakacollege.org
ADMISSION OPEN 2022-23 PUC SCIENCE : PCMB / PCMCs / PCME COMMERCE : EBACs / HEBA / BACsS
UG COURSES
B.Com ( Aviation & Airport Management )
BBA ( Aviation & Airport Management )
BCA ( Cloud Computing & Cyber Security)
B.Com ( Logistics & Supply Chain Mgmt )
BBA ( Logistics & Supply Chain Mgmt )
B.Com, BBA, BCA |
B.Sc & PB B.Sc ( Nursing ) |B.Sc Radiology
B.Sc Renal Dialysis B.Sc MLT |
BPT ( Physiotherapy) | B.PHARM
PG COURSES
MBA (Logistics & Supply Chain Mgmt)
MBA (Aviation & Airport Mgmt )
MTTM (5 yrs Intergrated after +2 )
M.Sc. Nursing
MBA, M.Com, | M.Sc Mathematics
M.A English | PHARM D
PHARM D(P.B) | M.PHARM
COLLEGE OF LAW LL.B (3 Years)
DIPLOMA COURSES
D.PHARM, GNM,
Diploma in X-ray Technology
Medical Laboratory Techchnology
Diploma in Operation Theater Technology
Diploma in Opthalmic Technology
(+2 Science 2 yrs )
For Admission Contact: # 33/2, Tirumena Halli, Hegde Nagar Main Road, Bangalore - 560 064
Ph: 8080833000 Mob : + 91 98440 57967 | + 91 88616 66688 Email: karnatakaeducationtrust@gmail.com
www.karnatakaeducationtrust.com Chairman Prof. Basavaraj Ramnal

VIVEKANANDA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
AN INSTITUTE OF JANATHA EDUCATION SOCIETY®
Recognised by GOK, Affiliated to VTU & Approved by AICTE
CET CODE: E087 ESTD.: 1997 COMEDK CODE: E149
Bachelor of Engineering
Computer Science
Information Science
Artificial Intelligence & Machine Learning
Electronics & Communication
Mechanical Civil
Ph.D Program
CSE | E&C | Mech | Maths | Chemistry Physics
2022-23 Admissions Open
College of Pharmacy
D.Pharm
B.Pharm | M.Pharm
CET B060
Institute of Management
BCA | BCA - Hons.
BBA | BBA - Hons.
MBA | M.Com
PGCET B-323
College of Law
5 Yrs : BA - LL.B | B.Com - LL.B
3 Yrs : LL.B
Degree College
BSc | BA | BA - Journalism
B.Com | B.Com - Data Analytics
NAAC ACCREDITED
7625013738
9513953482
VKIT
JES
Admission Center: Dr.Rajkumar Road, Next to Orion Mall, Rajajinagar II Stage, Bengaluru-560055
VKIT Campus: Kumbalagodu, Kengeri, Bengaluru-560074

RAJARAJESWARI
MEDICAL COLLEGE & HOSPITAL
A Constituent Institution of Dr. M.G.R. Educational and Research Institute, Chennai, India
(Deemed to be University)
Quality Accreditations
NAAC 'A' Accredited
Wish You Happy
INDEPENDENCE DAY
15th of August 2022
ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯದ ಅಮೃತ ಮಹೋತ್ಸವ | Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav
30 years of Proven Educational Excellence
25 Acres of Sprawling wi-fi Enabled Campus with Cutting Edge Infrastructure
1400 bedded hospital
100 +bedded ICUs
Highly Experienced & Skilled Faculties
17 Modular OTs
At the Forefront of COVID WAR
#202, Kambipura, Mysore Road, Bengaluru - 560 074
+91-80-2929 2929
info@rrmch.org
www.rrmch.edu.in

PRESIDENCY UNIVERSITY
Established under Section 2(f) of UGC Act, 1956 I Presidency University Act, 2013 of the Karnataka Act No. 41 of 2013
Bengaluru
APPROVED BY AICTE NEW DELHI
COMEDK CODE: 173
CET/DCET CODE: E237
CONCESSIONAL FEE WITH CHOICE OF BRANCH FOR COMEDK / CET ASPIRANTS
Discover Excellence
7 Advanced Schools I 52 Programs
New Age Programmes 2022-23
B.Tech - Computer Science and Engineering
• Cyber Security • Internet of Things
• Artificial Intelligence & Machine Learning • Block Chain
• Data Science
B.Tech - Computer Science and Technology
• Big Data • DevOps
B.Tech. - Information Science & Engineering
• Specialisation : Artificial Intelligence and Robotics
B.Tech. - Information Science & Technology
• Specialisation : Artificial Intelligence and Data Science
B.Sc. - Multimedia, B.Sc. - Data Science
SCHOOL OF ENGINEERING
B.Tech. Computer Science and Engineering
B.Tech. Computer Science and Engineering ( Artificial Intelligence & Machine Learning )
B.Tech. Computer Science and Engineering ( Data Science )
B.Tech. Computer Science and Engineering ( Cyber Security )
B.Tech. Computer Science and Engineering ( Blockchain )
B.Tech. Computer Science and Engineering ( IoT )
B.Tech. Computer Science and Technology ( Big Data )
B.Tech. Computer Science and Technology ( DevOps )
B.Tech. Computer Science and Technology Specialisation : Artificial Intelligence & Machine Learning
B.Tech. Computer Engineering Specialisation : Artificial Intelligence & Machine Learning
B.Tech. Information Science and Engineering Specialisation : Artificial Intelligence & Robotics
B.Tech. Information Science and Technology Specialisation : Artificial Intelligence & Data Science
B.Tech. Civil Engineering
B.Tech. Electrical & Electronics Engineering
B.Tech. Electronics and Communication Engineering
B.Tech. Mechanical Engineering
B.Tech. Mechanical Engineering Specialisation : Mechatronics
B.Tech. Petroleum Engineering
M.Tech. Artificial Intelligence
M.Tech. Data Science
M.Tech. Embedded System & VLSI
M.Tech. Building & Construction Technology
M.Tech. Product design and development
SCHOOL OF INFORMATION SC.
BCA
BCA [ Augmented Reality and Virtual Reality ]
BCA [ Gaming and Graphics ]
B.Sc. Data Science [ Comp. Sc., Statistics, Mathematics ]
SCHOOL OF MANAGEMENT
BBA
Specialisation : Finance/Marketing/HR/Logistics
BBA ( E-Commerce & Supply Chain Management )
BBA ( Financial Technology )
BBA ( Digital Marketing )
BBA ( Business Analytics )
BBA ( Aviation Management )
MBA [ Dual Major ]
Specialisation : Finance/Marketing/Human Resource Management/Operations and Supply Chain Management/Business Analytics/Digital Transformation
MBA ( Logistics & Supply Chain Management )
MBA ( Business Analytics )
MBA ( Digital Marketing )
MBA ( E-Business Management )
SCHOOL OF COMMERCE
B.Com
Specialisation : Banking & Finance / Corporate Accounting & Taxation
B.Com [ Hons. ]
Specialisation : Corporate Accounting with CMA-US / Business Analytics / CA Foundation
B.Sc. Economics ( Economics, Statistics, Mathematics )
SCHOOL OF LAW
(5 - Year [Hons.] Integrated Programme)
BBA LL.B. [ Hons. ]
BA LL.B. [ Hons. ]
B.Com LL.B. [ Hons. ]
LL.M. Intellectual Property Rights (IPR)
LL.M. Technology Law
SCHOOL OF DESIGN
B. Des. Product Design
B. Des. Game Design
B. Des. Communication Design
B. Des. Space Design
B. Des. Fashion Design
B.Sc. Multimedia ( VFX, SFX & Gaming )
SCHOOL OF MEDIA STUDIES
BA - Journalism and Mass Communication
SCAN THE QR CODE TO VISIT THE CAMPUS
15 CRORE
CET CODE : E237 | PGCET CODE : MBA – B349 | M.TECH – T983 | admission@presidencyuniversity.in
ADMISSIONS OPEN 2022-23 +91-63667-82344
presidencyuniversity.in | Presidency University, Itgalpur, Rajanakunte, Yelahanka, Bengaluru 560064
INTEREST FREE EDU. LOAN FACILITY

# The mobile chat that sent people into a tizzy at Mangaluru International Airport

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT
MANGALURU

Contents of chat over mobile phones between a male passenger, travelling on a Mumbai bound flight which was ready to take off, and a female passenger sitting inside the terminal building of Mangaluru International Airport created anxious moments over security, forcing the flight crew to deplane all 186 passengers here on Sunday.

Finally, the flight to Mumbai which was to take off here at 11 a.m. started the journey at 5 p.m. after security agencies took both the passengers into custody. An inquiry revealed that the duo, who were friends, did it for "fun" and there was no security threat. Sources said that the Mumbai-bound flight was entering the runway when a co-passenger sitting behind the male passenger in question noticed the chat with his (male passenger's) female friend sitting inside the terminal building. One of the messages sent by the woman read: "You are a bomber." Seeing the content, the co-passenger alerted the crew who reported the matter to the ATC. Immediately, the flight was made to return to the parking area.

Karnataka State Road Safety Authority
(Strive for Road Accident Free State)

Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav

DON'T VIOLATE TRAFFIC RULES

DON'T BE SCARED TO ASSIST ROAD ACCIDENT VICTIMS

The alarming rate of road accidents is one of the biggest causes of worry in India. It is necessary for everyone to be aware of road safety, traffic rules & regulations. Traffic signs can give you important informations that can ensure your safety and also the safety of those around you. Awareness of motor vehicle driving regulations can lower the rate of accidents.

Department Responsibilities

- Educating and training for Road users
- Providing safer roads for all road users
- Conducting safety and awareness programmes

Road User's Responsibilities

- Wear Helmet while Riding (BIS Certified Helmet)
- Don't forget to fasten safety belts
- Keep a safe distance between the vehicles
- Avoid Rash & Negligent Driving
- Always Drive within Speed Limit
- Do not use Mobiles while driving
- Avoid driving during drowsiness
- Don't drink and drive

Good Samaritan is a person who helps road accident victims to get medical aid

- No enquiry or detention by Govt.,
- No disclosure of personal identity
- You are protected under law

Help the road accident victims to save their lives.
Alert, Act, Be a Good Samaritan

* As per Motor Vehicle Act 1988 violation of the act & rules is a crime.

LIFE IS PRECIOUS. PRIORITY FOR SAFE DRIVING

Sri Basavaraj S Bommai
Hon'ble Chief Minister

Sri B. Shriramulu,
Hon'ble Minister for Transport and Tribal Welfare Department Participating in departmental programme.

"Sadak Suraksha Jeevan Raksha"

To cherish and follow the noble ideals which inspired our national struggle for freedom - is the fundamental duty of every citizen of the country.

Dr. N.V. Prasad I.A.S
Principal Secretary to Govt.,

T.H.M. Kumar I.A.S
Commissioner for Transport & Road Safety

J. Gnanendra Kumar
Additional Commissioner
Karnataka State Road Safety Authority

# EDUCATION PLUS

## SCHOLARSHIPS

### Legrand Empowering Scholarship Programme

ELIGIBILITY: Open to girl students across India applying to courses such as B.Tech., B.E., B.Arch., BBA, B.Com., and B.Sc. Maths and Sciences in India. Applicants must have cleared Class 12 in 2021-2022 and scored 70% and above in both exams. Differently-abled girl students and transgender students shall be considered. Annual family income must be less than ₹5 lakhs from all sources.

REWARDS: Girl students will be awarded 60% of the course fees up to ₹60,000 per year till the completion of course based on academic performance. Students in the special category (differently abled and transgender students or students with single parents, or those who lost their parents due to COVID-19) will be awarded 80% fees up to ₹1 lakh per year till the completion of the course based on academic performance.

APPLICATION: Online

DEADLINE: August 31

b4s.in/edge/LFL5

### Sensodyne IDA Shining Star Scholarship Programme

ELIGIBILITY: Open to students pursuing their first-year Bachelor of Dental Surgery (BDS) programme only from government and government-funded colleges.

Applicants must have scored a minimum of 60% in their Higher Secondary Education.

Successful applicants have to maintain a 60% score in each semester/year to avail the benefits for the four years of their course. Annual family income must not be more than ₹8 lakhs from all sources.

REWARDS: ₹1,05,000 per year, for four years

APPLICATION: Online

DEADLINE: August 31

b4s.in/edge/SSPPS1

Courtesy: buddy4study.com

Siddaganga Institute of Technology, Tumkur

Wishes you a Happy 75th Independence Day

Education Imparted by heart can bring a revolution in the Society

Admissions Open

College Code: CET – E16, COMEDK – E125

Contact: 0816-2214001

www.sit.ac.in

SESHADRIPURAM INSTITUTIONS
Bengaluru • Mysuru • Tumakuru • Mandya
website: www.set.edu.in e-mail : info@set.edu.in

Seshadripuram Educational Trust SINCE 1930 INSTITUTIONS

The Trustees, Faculty & Students extend their Warm Greetings to One & All on the occasion of

Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav

N. R. Pandith Aradhya
President

Dr. Wooday P. Krishna
Honorary General Secretary

www.mvjce.edu.in

MVJ COLLEGE OF ENGINEERING
An Autonomous Institute

Affiliated to VTU, Belagavi
Approved by AICTE, New Delhi
Recognized by UGC under 2(f) & 12(B)
Accredited by NBA & NAAC

Empowering Future Changemakers at MVJCE

Admissions Open 2022-23

Empower your future with cutting-edge B.E. Programmes

UG: B.E Programmes

- Artificial Intelligence & Machine Learning
- Aeronautical Engineering
- Aerospace Engineering
- Computer Science Engineering
- Computer Science Engineering (Data Science)
- Computer Science & Design
- Chemical Engineering
- Civil Engineering
- Electrical and Electronics Engineering
- Electronics & Communication Engineering
- Mechanical Engineering
- Information Science Engineering
- Industrial Internet of Things

PG Programmes: M. Tech /MBA

- Aeronautical Engineering
- Computer Science Engineering
- Structural Engineering
- Transportation Engineering
- M.B.A. (HR/Finance/Marketing)

Ph.D Programmes

- Computer Science Engineering
- Civil Engineering
- Chemistry
- Electronics & Communication Engineering
- Electrical and Electronics Engineering
- Mechanical Engineering

Why MVJCE ?

40 Years of Excellence in Engineering Education
185 University Ranks
23400 Engineers graduated till date
27.7 LPA-Highest Package
200+ Companies visit MVJCE for Placements

Cash prizes won by our students in 2021-2022 alone

- Team X-Treme Squad, ME Dept. – Overall Champions of Pro Karting; won **Cash prize Rs. 1,35,000/-** at GO-KART Championship 2021, organized by Society of Innovative Minds
- Srivalanga N, ME Dept. won 4 awards with **Cash prize of Rs.30000/-** at the SEP-Hero E-bike Challenge, 2021-22
- Consistently winning at the National Aerospace Conceptual Design Competition for four years, from 2017 to 2021. Amruthamahu R, Koushik U, Mithun P & Aiyab H, AE Dept. won **First prize of Rs.20000/-** in NACDEC 2021
- Pavan HV, Pavithra P, N Manzar and Manish, ECE Dept. won First prize of **Rs. 15,000/-** at National Social Summit 2021, organized by WHO
- Vaishnavi K Pai, Manasa B N, CH Dept. won **Cash prize Rs. 10000/-** for their Project at the 6th National level Techno Exhibition – 2022

Salient Features of MVJCE

- Annual Cash prizes up to **₹ 1 Lakh** every year, for Innovative Projects
- **Innovation Day**, to showcase student-driven Projects
- **Technical Clubs:** Tomorrow's Engineers Club, Astronomy Club, Software Development Club, Robotics Club and more
- Centres of Excellence, and Collaborations with **National Instruments, IITB, Infosys Campus connect, TI University programme**
- **Innovation Labs:** Tinkering Lab, Robotics & Automation Lab, UAV Lab, IoT Lab, Flight Simulation Lab and many more
- **Other Initiatives:** Focus on holistic development of students through sports, cultural and extracurricular activities like TedXMVJCE, ToastMasters Club, Training in Soft Skills to enhance Student's self-confidence, and prepare him for the world outside

Apply with your best scores: 10+2/PUC/K-CET/JEE/AMPCK

+91-8150811811, 080-4299 1003/1040 || MVJ College of Engineering, Near ITPB, Whitefield, Bangalore 560067

MBG-BCE